

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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GUSANOS BOMB SITE OF EXPO-CUBA: An explosion on the night of July 24 wrecked the top floor of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Building, where Drug and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199 is headquartered. Although the union office staff had gone home, the maintenance staff was still on duty, and one staff member was injured by the blast.

The building is scheduled to be the site of a four-day political and cultural exposition on Cuba to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the July 26 attack Fidel Castro led on the Moncada Barracks.

Both Local 1199 and the sponsors of Expo-Cuba had previously received threats in connection with the exposition. About two hours after the explosion, a man called United Press International and said the "Cuban Secret Government" claimed responsibility for the attack.

A similar explosion occurred that same night at the central headquarters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Rio Piedras, causing extensive damage to the office where material to be used for Expo-Cuba in Puerto Rico was being kept. PSP representatives believe there is a direct link between the two bombings.

STRIKING ARTESIA WORKERS WIN COURT VICTORY: Striking city workers in Artesia, N.M., have won a preliminary injunction preventing the mayor and city council from enforcing an ordinance that prohibits picketing at private residences. The city council passed the ordinance several months ago to block picketing at the homes of the Mayor and city councilmen.

The 44 city workers, 39 of whom are Chicano, have been on strike since Sept. 13, 1972, when the city council refused to discuss a request to recognize the United Steelworkers union as their bargaining agent. They are demanding union recognition, a pension plan, and over-time pay.

For a long time the city denied the workers were on strike and hired scab labor to replace them. Pickets have been arrested, harassed, and physically attacked by police and scabs.

ALSC PROTESTS RHODESIAN CHROME IMPORTS: The African Liberation Support Committee, the group that spearheaded the recent African Liberation Day demonstrations, held picket lines July 20 at federal buildings in cities around the country. The actions, which were scheduled for 33 cities, were called to protest the continued importation of Rhodesian chrome into the U.S.

In 1971, Congress passed the Byrd amendment, allowing U.S. companies to violate 1967 United Nations sanctions against trade with Rhodesia. The sanctions were voted as economic retaliation for Rhodesia's refusal to allow its Black majority to rule.

Legislation is now before both houses of Congress that would repeal the Byrd amendment.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE IN OHIO (I): The Ohio House has passed a bill, sponsored by Representative Arthur Wilkowski and supported by the Ohio Catholic Conference, that circumvents the Supreme Court decision in favor of a woman's right to abortion. While the bill does not place a time limit on abortion, it calls for criminal penalties for physicians who "fail to try to preserve the life of a fetus which is alive when taken from the uterus."

The effect of the bill will be to intimidate doctors into not performing abortions. The bill also requires the consent of both the woman and her husband and, in the case of an unmarried minor, the consent of her parents.

A number of civil liberties and women's liberation groups, including the Ohio Civil Liberties Union and the Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women, have called for the defeat of the bill. It now goes to the state Senate.

Summer schedule

This is the last issue of The Militant before our summer break. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue of Aug. 31.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE IN OHIO (II): A reactionary bill before the Ohio legislature, introduced by Representative Damschroeder, calls for the forced sterilization of unmarried women on welfare with two or more children. Damschroeder, in speaking about the bill, has said, "people who choose to live like animals deserve to be treated like animals."

Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, has called for the defeat of this bill and the anti-abortion bill just passed by the House. In a public statement she said, "I call for an end to restrictions on a woman's right to choose abortion and for an end to all forced sterilization procedures."

UNION LOCAL BACKS PANCHO CRUZ DEFENSE: On July 11, Iris Fontanez, sister of Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz, the Puerto Rican nationalist framed up for his political activities, spoke for his defense to a general membership meeting of AFSCME Local 1930, New York Public Library Employees. Cruz was employed by the New York Public Library at the time of his arrest, and Local 1930 contributed \$500 to his defense committee then.

After Fontanez's presentation, the following motion was passed: "Local 1930 demands that Eddie Cruz be given prompt and adequate medical treatment for his eye condition. We oppose his transfer to the Adirondack Treatment and Evaluation Center at Dannemora, N.Y. We also support his appeal for a new trial."

L.A. CHICANOS MARCH AGAINST DEPORTATIONS: Nearly 400 people, mostly Chicanos, participated in a "March Against Repression" in the Los Angeles Chicano community July 22, designated National Day of Solidarity with Los Tres. (Los Tres del Barrio are three Chicano activists victimized for their efforts to rid the community



Militant/Miguel Pendas

of drugs.) Many other issues of concern to Chicanos were also raised.

A central theme expressed in the slogans and signs of the marchers was opposition to the recent wave of dragnet raids and mass deportations of Chicanos and Mexicans by the U.S. Immigration Service.

AHMED DEFENSE COMMITTEE FORMED IN PHILADELPHIA: A community rally was held in Philadelphia July 14 to launch the Muhammed Ahmed Defense Committee. Ahmed (Max Stanford) is the founder and national chairman of the All-African People's Party. He faces "criminal anarchy" charges stemming from an alleged 1967 plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty, conspiring to kill prominent civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, assaulting prison guards, and jumping bail. Additional charges of sedition, possession of marijuana, and "belonging to a revolutionary organization" were dropped May 28, and Ahmed is currently out on bail.

—MIRTA VIDAL

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WATERGATE: Nixon's few remaining friends still insist he's innocent. But the majority of the American people know he's guilty. Read The Militant for weekly socialist analysis of the Watergate scandal.

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Clash over presidential power

Watergate pressure mounts on Nixon

By CINDY JAQUITH

JULY 25—As the shroud of secrecy behind which the capitalist government functions has been pierced by the continuing Watergate revelations, the true nature of capitalist rule has been illuminated. Not a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," but a government of the rich, maintained in power through deception, fraud, and the vast police power at its disposal.

The entire ruling class supports these methods of rule when they are directed against those struggling against the capitalist status quo in the U.S. and abroad. But when Nixon turned some of these methods on his opponents *within* the ruling class, they aroused a storm of protest. And as faith and trust in the entire government continue to decline as a result of the Watergate exposures, there is growing concern in ruling-class circles over Nixon's capacity to govern.

Yet the White House, so far, has decided not to retreat, but to "tough it out."

"Let others wallow in Watergate," Nixon declared July 20. This brash statement was a vivid illustration of what the *New York Times* on July 24 called "the wall against reality which Mr. Nixon has erected around himself."

John Ehrlichman's testimony before the Senate Watergate committee July 24 showed that the White House still thinks it can justify its illegal actions by hiding behind "national security." This was clear in the way that Ehrlichman, who until April 30 was Nixon's top domestic aide, defended the burglary at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Such actions, Ehrlichman insisted, are legal because they involve national security. Referring to the publication of the Pentagon papers and revelations of other secret government data, Ehrlichman told the Senate committee:

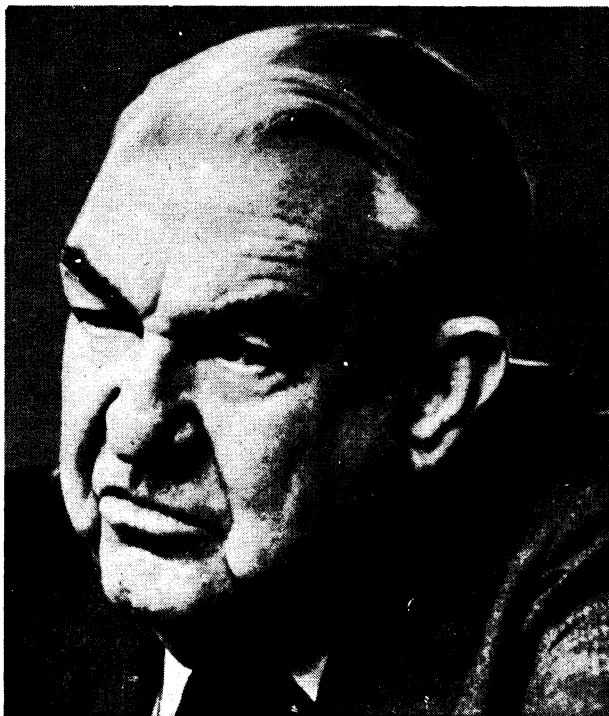
"Henry Kissinger, Secretary Rogers, and others were seriously concerned that this kind of internal sabotage of Administration policy could actually ruin our chances to negotiate a strategic arms limitation treaty and terminate the Vietnam situation on a stable basis, for example.

"A similar threat," he continued, "... was posed by the combination of [antiwar] street demonstrations, terrorism-violence and their effect on public and Congressional support for the President's policy."

Burglary is 'legal'

As part of the solution to these "threats," Ehrlichman said, burglary and other illegal acts were in order. "I think that if it is understood that the president has the constitutional power to prevent the betrayal of national security secrets ... there shouldn't be any problem."

Nixon himself agreed with this justification of the Ellsberg burglary, said Ehrlichman. "In point of fact, on the first occasion when I did discuss this with the President, which was in March of this year, he expressed essentially the view that I have just stated, that this was an important, a vital na-



ERVIN: Nothing in Constitution gives president power to authorize burglaries.

tional security inquiry, and that he considered it to be well within the constitutional, both obligation and function, of the president."

"Nixon told the nation a different story in his statement of May 22," noted the July 24 *New York Post*, "saying he would have disapproved of any 'illegal means' in connection with the Ellsberg investigation by the White House 'plumbers.'"

Ehrlichman and his attorney insisted that possible "foreign intelligence activities" justified the burglary.

'Foreign intelligence'

"The foreign intelligence activities had nothing to do with the opinion of Ellsberg's psychiatrist about his intellectual or emotional or physical state," Senator Sam Ervin shot back. Referring later to the Constitution, he added, "And there is not a syllable in there that says the President can suspend the Fourth Amendment or authorize burglary."

Ehrlichman's attempt to help his old boss cloak the Ellsberg affair in national security came off as no more credible than the president's own personal effort to put up a constitutional defense for his refusal to make public his tapes and documents. Both the Senate committee and Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox have subpoenaed the tapes.

In his July 23 letter to Ervin explaining why he would not release the tapes, Nixon asked the country to take his word that there was nothing incriminating on the tapes. "The tapes are entirely consistent with what I know to be the truth and what I have stated to be the truth."

"However," the letter continued, "... they contain comments that persons with different perspectives and motivations would inevitably interpret in different ways."

Ervin mocked the letter: "If you will notice, the president says he has heard the tapes or some of them, and they sustain his position. But he says he's not going to let anybody else hear them for fear they might draw a different conclusion."

Like Ervin, the July 24 *New York Times* editorial pointed out that Nixon's invocation of the Constitution sounds "hollow and hypocritical against actions which show contempt for the spirit of the Constitution." However, the gravest question in the minds of the *Times* editors (who speak for an important section of the ruling class) has nothing to do with the Constitution.

Mushroom cloud

"The basic political problem posed by the president's own actions, far transcending any question of tape recordings or written memoranda," said the *Times*, "is how any elected leader can expect to govern under this rapidly growing mushroom cloud of doubt and suspicion."

Evidence of this mushroom cloud is the recent Gallup poll, showing that three-fourths of the American people think Nixon was involved in Watergate, and the Harris poll, which shows that 60 percent of the population thinks Nixon is "more wrong than right" in failing to release his files.

In the view of the rulers of this country, Nixon's plummeting authority could not have come at a worse time. Referring to Nixon's "government in siege," the July 30 *Newsweek* pointed out:

"The first visible results of phase four were uniformly bad notices and gloomy predictions of a breakaway rise in food prices. The Administration was entangled in a painful new scandal—the discovery that it has papered over the secret bombing of Cambodia with falsified records."

A president who is a crook in the eyes of the majority of working people will not be able to force them to knuckle under to more inflation. Nor will the U.S. population accept passively the scandal that is developing as the "Cambodian Watergate."

These questions are far more important to U.S. bankers and businessmen than whether Nixon stays in office. If he is unable to restore popular confidence in himself, as he has thus far shown, he will no longer be of any use to the capitalist rulers.



'Let others (glub) wallow in Waterglub ...'

H.S. student sues to end FBI spying

JULY 25—Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student, is suing the FBI for \$65,000 in damages and seeking an injunction to restrain the government from intercepting or interfering with mail addressed to political organizations. A letter from Paton to the Young Socialist Alliance seeking information for a social studies project led to FBI agents interrogating school officials about her political beliefs and activities.

This suit provides important new proof of illegal mail surveillance by the FBI, which is one of the central allegations in the suit filed by the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party against government secret-police operations. (See page 5.)

In a statement to the press today, Janice Lynn, spokeswoman for the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is handling the SWP and YSA suit, said,

"We consider Lori Paton's suit important confirmation of our charges. We hope that many more people like her will come forward and join the fight against government Watergate tactics. We wish Lori Paton the best of luck in her case." Lynn has discussed the case with Lori Paton and with her attorney.

Paton's suit charges that an FBI agent visited the principal of her high school, asking about her. The principal explained Lori Paton was merely interested in her social studies project, and immediately called Lori Paton and her teacher into the office. "The agent apparently thought I had graduated," she explained. "When he heard I was still a student and the letter was part of a class exercise, he quickly dropped his questioning and left."

At first, she said, she "couldn't fully understand what was happening. When I became aware of it, the thing that disturbed me most was that they were doing it behind my back."

"Although we want to be assured my name isn't on any lists, the main reason for the suit is the principle involved and the fact that this type of thing could really interfere with the educational process."

She is being backed up by her parents. Her mother told reporters she was "a little shocked and angry" about the investigation of her daughter. Joining Lori Paton as plaintiffs in the suit, which is being brought by the American Civil Liberties Union, are her school principal, the chairman of the social studies department, and her father.

WATERGATE: New York's 'finest'

Where 'Tony the Cop' learned his W'gate trade

Inside the New York City Red Squad

By CINDY JAQUITH

To the members of the Senate Watergate committee he was good for a lot of laughs: a New York cop, resembling a character created by Damon Runyon, over his head in national political intrigue involving forces and issues beyond his comprehension. With the cooperation of the senators, he played the role to the hilt before the nationwide TV audience.

But to Black activists, to union militants and radicals, Tony "Bagman" Ulasewicz is not a joke. He is the kind of creature perfectly suited to loyal service in the capitalists' secret-police apparatus. He got his training in the anti-Black and union-busting arm of



ULASEWICZ: 20 years on Red Squad trained him well for Watergate.

the New York police—the "Red Squad."

A look at his long career is proof that the federal repressive apparatus is complemented by local police operations that rely on the same methods of frame-up, illegal surveillance, and infiltration by agents provocateurs. Although superseded to a great extent by the expansion of the federal secret-police agencies, these local Watergate operations remain in full operation today, under the administrations of Democrats and Republicans alike.

Ulasewicz testified before the Senate committee about his adventures delivering "silence money" to Watergate defendants. In a previous appearance before the committee, he had described how he was hired as an "investigator" by Nixon's former top domestic aide, John Ehrlichman, in 1969. For 20

years before that time, he had worked for the New York Bureau of Special Services and Investigation, also known as "BOSSI," or the "Red Squad."

"... no other single police agency in New York City is as secretive as BOSSI," wrote David Burnham in the Aug. 8, 1969, *New York Times*. The information that has surfaced about this clandestine agency explains why.

In his book *Cops and Rebels* (Pantheon Books, 1972), Paul Chevigny describes the history of the New York Red Squad. When it was formed in 1912, it had a more accurate title: the Radical Bureau. Today it is often known as BOSSI, although in 1969 the name was changed to the Special Services Division, and in 1970 the title became the Security and Investigation Section.

BOSSI maintains files on more than 1,000,000 individuals and organizations that have been subject to police investigation. The files "are thought to be among the most extensive in the United States," according to an article by Burnham in the July 15, 1973, *New York Times*.

The very existence of these files has been kept secret from the citizens of New York, while government agencies from all over the country have access to their contents. Ulasewicz, for example, testified that even after he left BOSSI to work for the White House, he made use of the secret files. This admission has created such an outcry that the New York Police Department has been forced to announce an inquiry into White House use of BOSSI facilities.

In addition to spying on New York residents, BOSSI operates a "labor section." According to Burnham, this department's assignment is to "be aware of expiring labor contracts and be able to advise the Police Commissioner on which disputes could explode into violence." To put it more bluntly, the labor section keeps track of opportunities to smash strikes.

Agents provocateurs

Perhaps the most sinister role played by BOSSI is its use of agents provocateurs—undercover cops who infiltrate organizations to encourage illegal activities that will facilitate the arrest of the membership.

Agents provocateurs from BOSSI have figured in many famous frame-up cases in the past decade in New



'New York's Finest': blackjack-toting plainclothes cops in action at 1967 antiwar march.

York. One of the best known is the Statue of Liberty case.

In 1965 three Black activists in New York and a Québécois were arrested on charges of conspiring to blow up the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument, and the Liberty Bell. "Proof" of this bizarre plot was provided by Ray Wood, a Black BOSSI undercover agent.

One of the arresting officers in the case was none other than Tony Ulasewicz.

During the course of the trial it became clear that it was Wood, not the defendants, who carried out most of the planning for the "plot." Nevertheless, the four activists were convicted in June 1965, and Wood was decorated by the police department.

An important aspect of the case was BOSSI's attempt to link the phony bomb plot to "foreign subversives." At various times during the case, police "leaks" told of the involvement of Québécois separatists. There was even an attempt to link Cuban leader Che Guevara to the plot! Not a shred of evidence ever appeared to substantiate these stories.

Panther 21 frame-up

Similar allegations—this time about Cuban and Chinese "links"—were made when the police arrested 21 New York Black Panthers in 1969. The Panthers were charged with conspiring to blow up department stores and kill policemen. This time, however, the frame-up didn't work, and the defendants were acquitted in 1971.

During the Panther 21 case three police agents who had infiltrated the group testified. It was revealed at approximately the same time that BOSSI had set up a special "Panther Squad" within its agency.

BOSSI has also conducted surveillance against antiwar and student activists. Columnist Nat Hentoff reported in the Aug. 1, 1968, *Village Voice* that BOSSI had threatened members of a group called Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam. He quoted a leader of the group, Donald Leinbach, as saying:

"... members of [BOSSI] have been identified at almost every peace and antiwar demonstration or activity in recent months. They were also in evidence at the Columbia [University] demonstrations [in the spring of 1968]

and at various political meetings."

Leinbach said that members of his group were visited by BOSSI agents "and in some cases directly or indirectly threatened if they continue to be active in peace demonstrations."

Recent events show that the New York secret police are still active. On July 5, cops arrested several Black activists on charges of "dealing in illegal weapons." Bob Collier, a defendant in the Statue of Liberty case and in the Panther 21 case, was one of those picked up.

According to the July 6 *New York Times*, the arrests "followed weeks of intensive investigation in which police intelligence and detective divisions cooperated with federal authorities."

There has been some attempt by the cops to link Collier and the others arrested to the so-called "Black Liberation Army." Black activists around the country have been picked up on charges of belonging to this group, which federal authorities claim is out to kill policemen.

Links to CIA

Cooperation between local and national secret police is a common occurrence. In September 1972, for example, the CIA held a training school where cops from all over the country, including New York, studied methods of collecting "political intelligence." The CIA, FBI, and other federal agencies draw on local police undercover work for much of their information, and undoubtedly New York's BOSSI is the biggest source of data.

Tony Ulasewicz's background in BOSSI is what qualified him for his job at the White House. As he himself told the Senate Watergate Committee, his work for John Ehrlichman was "more or less the same" as his work for BOSSI: dealing in "political dirt" is the way one senator put it.

From his testimony thus far, Ulasewicz's "investigative" job at the White House seemed to be mainly spying on Nixon's political opponents with an eye to juicy scandals.

Far from being unusual, Ulasewicz fits the mold of White House employees perfectly. Like the E. Howard Hunts, the Cuban counterrevolutionaries, and the G. Gordon Liddys, he is a symbol of the political scum the capitalists hire to keep themselves in power.



LNS/ Howie Epstein

Public revulsion with secret-police operations like BOSSI's 'Panther Squad' helped create climate that led to acquittal in Panther 21 case.

Secret police expanded in '60s

The Watergate revelations have shown that the White House responded to the deepening radicalization of the 1960s with an increased use of secret-police tactics. In the book *Cops and Rebels*, Paul Chevigny documents the expansion of illegal surveillance on the local government level, drawing heavily on what is known about New York's "Red Squad," the outfit where Watergater Tony Ulasewicz got his early experience:

"In the late sixties," Chevigny writes, "the amount of police intelligence work throughout the country, especially at the local police level, expanded enormously. Between 1968 and 1971, BOSS increased its staff from 60 to 90 (a figure which does not include an unstated number of undercover agents), and the Los Angeles Police Department

doubled its intelligence division in the single year of 1969-1970.

"In Chicago and Philadelphia, in the words of Frank Donner [in an April 22, 1971, *New York Review of Books* article], more police are engaged 'on political intelligence assignments than are engaged in fighting organized crime.'

"The expansion has been heaviest in college communities and black ghettos. . . . An article in the *New York Times* for March 28, 1971, lists fifteen major colleges and universities with authenticated cases of the use of undercover agents, but it is probably safe to say that no college campus with any pretense to diversity of opinion is free from undercover infiltration, with or without the consent of its administration."

Case raises key W'gate issues

Lawyer explains basis for socialist suit against gov't

United States District Court
FOR THE
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, et
al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED
STATES, et al.,

Defendants.

SUMMONS IN CIVIL ACTION

By PETER SEIDMAN

On July 18, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance filed suit against President Richard Nixon, former Attorney General John Mitchell, former White House aide John Ehrlichman, and many other officials of the U.S. government. The suit seeks a court injunction barring the government from carrying out unconstitutional acts against the SWP and the YSA.

This lawsuit is part of a political offensive by the SWP and the YSA against the use by the ruling class of Watergate-style police-state measures against the union movement, Black liberation activists, the socialist movement, and other struggles. The SWP and YSA will take advantage of this suit to expose these government attacks and to set an example of how they should be combated and defeated.

The suit charges that government agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, carry out illegal wiretapping, mail tampering, job discrimination, and harassment of SWP and YSA members and supporters. It also cites incidents of SWP campaign headquarters being firebombed, bombed, and burglarized.

Plaintiffs

Plaintiffs in the suit include Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the SWP, along with a number of other SWP candidates. They charge that their democratic rights, as well as those of their campaign supporters, have been violated by

office about the case on July 23. Jordan also worked on the case in which Linda Jenness and Dr. Benjamin Spock, 1972 presidential candidate of the People's Party, successfully sued the U.S. government in 1971 for the right to campaign at the U.S. Naval Air Station in Quonset Point, R. I.

Constitutional basis

Jordan began by explaining the constitutional basis on which the suit rests. "The provisions of the Constitution that we are invoking are the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments and Article one, Section two.

"The First Amendment claims that we make are many. They involve claims of government infringement against freedoms of association and the right to be a candidate for elected public office. These rights are not specifically enumerated in the First Amendment, but the courts have found them implied in the other guaranteed freedoms of assembly, petition, and speech.

"The Fourth Amendment is the one that prohibits the government from making unreasonable searches and seizures of people or their places or effects. We claim that the burglaries and the opening of letters are obvious violations of the Fourth Amendment. What's more, wiretapping without a warrant violates not only a specific statute, but also the Fourth Amendment.

"The Fifth Amendment prohibits the government from depriving citizens of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. The due process clause of the Fifth Amendment prevents the federal government from denying any person in its jurisdiction equal protection under the law.

"What we are claiming in this suit," Jordan said, is "that because the government singles out the SWP and its supporters and candidates, including the YSA, and subjects them to a variety of harassment techniques it does not use against most other political parties, the government is denying the SWP and its members, candidates, and supporters equal protection of the law.

"Article one, Section two is the section that confers on Congress the power to regulate elections. The federal courts have held that this gives any voter the right to be treated equally with all other voters.

Government conspiracy

"We invoke some other statutes too. One is based on a recent Supreme Court ruling that, at least in some cases, you can sue private individuals as well as federal government officials, for conspiring to violate your constitutional rights."

Jordan explained that the suit charges two such conspiracies. "The first conspiracy was formed in 1948 at the time the SWP was placed on the attorney general's list. This conspiracy was renewed, or possibly a different one formed, in 1970, with the 'secret spy plan' put forward by Tom Charles Huston and approved by Nixon.

"We don't have to prove a conscious government conspiracy where a group of people sat around a table and said, 'All right, let's get them.' Proof can be circumstantial. The Huston plan is very strong circumstantial evidence of a government conspiracy against the SWP and YSA."

I then asked Jordan to explain how the case will proceed through the courts. "First, we delivered a summons and complaint for each defendant to the U.S. marshals.

"The marshals' job is to serve these on each defendant. I discovered that these marshals actually have authority to form a posse. I doubt that will become necessary. Imagine if we had to send a posse down to San Clemente!"

"What happens after the summonses are served?" I asked.

"Within 20 days for the private defendants, and 60 days for the government officials, after they

actually get served, they have to answer.

"They will probably answer by moving to dismiss our complaint on a number of different legal grounds. Then we'll have to argue this out.

"If they lose on all their motions to dismiss, the next thing we would do before trial is go into what we call pretrial discovery." There are two forms of this. One is through depositions. A deposition is taken outside a courtroom, but with a court stenographer. "You ask the witness questions prior to examination in court," Jordan explained. "He answers under oath, there's cross-examination, and so on.

Cough up documents

"The second major form of pretrial discovery we'll use is production of documents. We can make them cough up documents we want to see if we can describe them with reasonable particularity."

I asked Jordan if that meant it will be possible to demand—and be backed up by the court—to see the still-secret sections of the Huston plan? "Subject to certain limits," he said.

Jordan doesn't expect the trial to begin for at least eight months.

"If the defendants' motions to dismiss are granted, then we'll appeal. The appeals on these motions could take a long time, depending on how high we have to appeal."

"What can the suit accomplish from a legal standpoint?" I asked.



Militant/Flax Hermes

Attorney Herb Jordan (left) at news conference announcing SWP and YSA suit. In center is Andrew Pulley and at right, Leonard Boudin.

"First," he said, "is the obvious impact of having a specific judgment upholding the SWP and YSA against specific acts of the government.

"Second, once we get an injunction, if any government agents persist in illegal acts, we will have at our disposal the contempt power of court. These contempt powers include summary imprisonment and even money damages against government agents who violate the injunction.

"Third, the government would have to prove that none of the evidence used in any criminal prosecution of the SWP or YSA or their supporters was either directly derived from or subsequently gained from actions in violation of the injunction."

In closing, Jordan noted that one of the aims of the suit is to make it easier for other victims of government Watergating to fight back. He said, "Our office has already received calls from five or six lawyers requesting copies of the complaint. In most, if not all cases, it was because they were either contemplating, or in some cases were already involved in, working up Watergate-related suits against the government."

Your help is needed

Efforts to publicize, win support, and raise funds for the suit filed on behalf of the SWP and YSA are being organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

The PRDF has just issued a brochure entitled "In Defense of Political Rights" that explains the suit and can be a valuable tool for winning support for this important legal effort.

The brochure outlines steps that supporters of the suit can take to help:

- Become a sponsor of PRDF and urge others to do so. (Sponsorship of PRDF does not necessarily imply agreement with the political views of the plaintiffs.)
- Send a donation to the PRDF to help cover the extremely high legal expenses involved in the suit.
- Invite a representative from PRDF to speak at a meeting of your organization.
- Send resolutions of support from your union, club, school, or organization.
- Volunteer to help work with PRDF in your area.

If you want to help with any of the above projects or obtain copies of the new PRDF brochure, PRDF endorsement forms, or if you want to make a contribution, write: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270

this government conspiracy.

The suit also attacks the constitutionality of the attorney general's list of "subversive" groups. Further, it seeks damages of more than \$27-million.

The attorney for the suit is Leonard Boudin, one of the nation's most prominent constitutional lawyers. Boudin recently served as chief counsel in the successful defense effort of Daniel Ellsberg.

Herbert Jordan, 35, a member of Boudin's law firm, has been working with Boudin in preparing this suit. I had a chance to interview him in his

Meaning of the July strikes

Turning point for Puerto Rican workers

By DICK GARZA

The July strikes in Puerto Rico by firemen and water and electrical workers marked a turning point for the island's labor movement. For the first time in Puerto Rico, the National Guard was called out against strikers. Thousands of workers demonstrated to protest this strikebreaking action. What was behind the confrontation?

For many Americans, Puerto Rico is a tropical island paradise for vacationing. It presents no customs problems since it is owned by the U.S. There is no need to worry about converting money since the American dollar is also the currency of Puerto Rico. Many Puerto Ricans speak or at least understand English, especially the workers in the hotels and in the tourist area of the Condado.

But for Puerto Ricans, low wages and high prices make living conditions on the island quite a bit less than paradise. An article in *Nueva Lucha* (New Struggle) in November 1970 pointed out that the average wage in manufacturing in Puerto Rico was \$1.75 an hour.

These miserly wages are paid in a country where the people must pay U.S. prices for practically everything they buy. In fact, U.S. federal employees working in Puerto Rico are paid a 10 percent wage differential to compensate for the higher prices there.

Puerto Rico is no longer an island where a few sugar monopolies reign and most of the population lives in the countryside. According to the 1970 census, out of the total population of 2.7-million, more than one million live in cities of more than 50,000 inhabitants. In 1940 there were 230,000 agricultural workers. By 1970 there were barely 85,000, while nonagricultural and salaried workers numbered 827,000.

A superficial look at these figures would indicate that the plan put forward by Luis Muñoz Marín, governor of Puerto Rico from 1952 to 1964, was a success. The plan, called "Op-

eration Bootstrap," was supposed to modernize the island by attracting industry and establishing a tourist trade.

Industry was to be attracted by low wages, a docile labor force, generous tax rebates, and government aid. Tourists were to be attracted by turning over the most beautiful sections of the island to big hotel chains.

Industry has indeed come to Puerto Rico. However, unlike in other countries, investment in Puerto Rico has not led to a large concentration of workers in big factories. Sixty percent of Puerto Rico's factories employ 20 workers or fewer. Only 9 percent, or 160 factories, employ more than 150 workers.

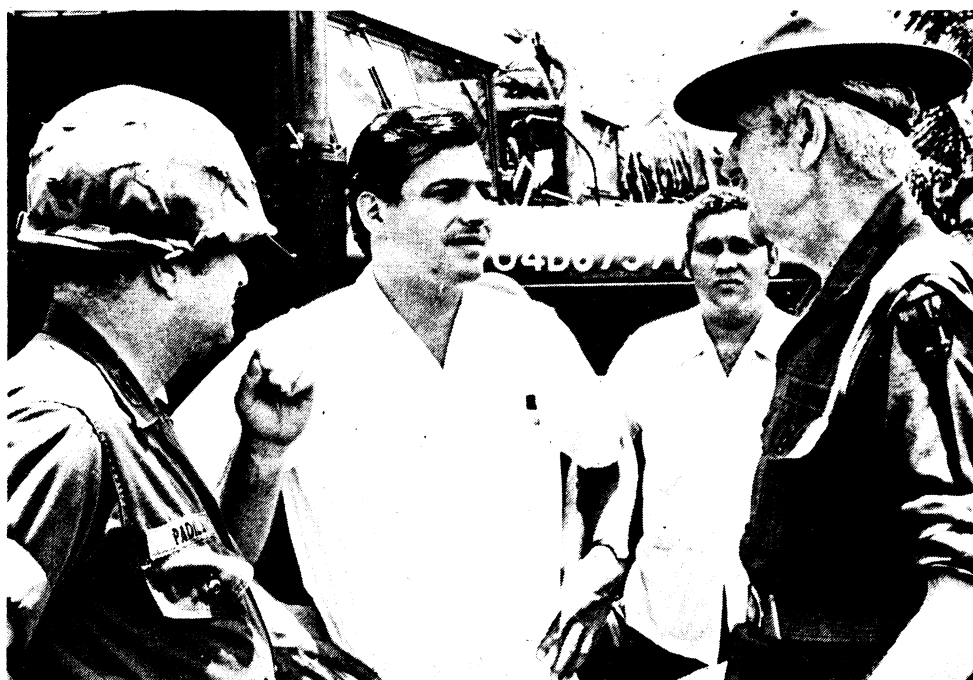
The workers who played the most active role in the recent strikes were sanitation workers; firemen; and the irrigation and electrical workers, who are organized in the Irrigation and Electrical Workers Union (UTIER).

The 1,100-member firemen's union was protesting outmoded equipment and low wages. For example, there were only four firetrucks with ladders in all of Puerto Rico. Starting wages for firemen are \$385 a month.

The firemen's strike drew sympathy from much of the population. However, the UTIER workers faced a much more difficult task in winning wide public support for their strike. They are a skilled group of workers who have high wages and good conditions in comparison with other workers in Puerto Rico.

Pedro Nazario Báez, president of the Río Piedras chapter of the UTIER, explained that one of the weaknesses of the strike was that the union leadership made little effort to explain why the Water Resources Authority (Autoridad de las Fuentes Fluviales—AFF) could grant the demands of the workers.

The AFF claimed it was operating at a \$10-million deficit. But in 1971-72 the AFF paid \$25-million, or 20 percent of its total income, in interest to U.S. banks. In addition, AFF buys petroleum from the Commonwealth Oil



Puerto Rican Governor Hernandez Colon chats with National Guardsmen he called out to break firemen's and electrical workers' strikes. Thousands of workers demonstrated to protest use of Guard.

Refining Corporation (CORCO) at extra high prices.

In an article on CORCO in the July 15 *Claridad*, Félix Ojeda Reyes pointed out that CORCO is dominated by the Rockefeller family's Exxon, one of the largest oil companies in the world. He writes, "we should recall the CORCO-Authority of Water Works affair. The parties signed an agreement until 1980 and at the beginning of last year CORCO wanted to violate it so that the AFF, through the Puerto Rican consumer would pay it an additional \$4,000,000. The pressure was so great that the AFF threw in the towel."

Ojeda Reyes goes on to cite a document in his possession that reveals "In open violation of the contract the Authority paid more than \$823,000 in benefits to CORCO on the basis of higher prices paid retroactively, in addition to \$1,600,000 in overpricing not specified in the contract."

The strikes by the firemen and UTIER ended in mid-July. In both

cases the government granted concessions. Both radical and bourgeois journalists noted that Puerto Rico's labor movement is entering a new stage. Under Muñoz Marín the labor bureaucracy had been incorporated into the government apparatus. In return it did not engage in any militant struggles that might endanger Muñoz Marín's scheme to industrialize Puerto Rico.

However, in 1968 Muñoz Marín's party was thrown out of office and the millionaire Luis Ferré was elected governor. Ferré's four years in office led to a weakening of the government's hold on the union bureaucracy.

This, along with the fact that prices have gone up more than 21 percent since 1967, according to a Commonwealth economist, has led to growing resistance by Puerto Rican workers. This resistance has been shown over the past year and a half by the strikes of the *El Mundo* workers, teamsters, and telephone workers, in addition to the July strikes.

Iranian students protest shah's visit to U.S.

JULY 24—Hundreds of people, mostly Iranian students, demonstrated today against the shah of Iran as he arrived in the U.S. to shop for late-model U.S. fighter-bombers to add to his growing arsenal.

Last night the shah dined with the chairmen of some of the biggest oil corporations in the world, along with U.S. Cabinet officials and the Soviet ambassador. Today he had the honor of becoming the first head of state to meet with Nixon in the Oval Office since it was supposedly debugged.

In Washington, about 300 people marched from DuPont Circle to Lafayette Park, across from the White

House, for a picket line and rally. The action was sponsored by the Iranian Students Association (ISA) and supported by other student organizations.

Marchers chanted, "Shah is a puppet, down with the shah," "Stop torturing political prisoners," and "Down with U.S. imperialism." They wore masks over their faces both as a symbol of repression in Iran and to prevent possible identification and victimization of Iranians who participated.

SAVAK (the shah's political police) operates freely in the U.S. Last week SAVAK agents harassed and threatened Iranian students to discourage

them from participating in the demonstration.

ISA speakers at the rally denounced the multibillion dollar arms deals between Nixon and the shah. They also explained the case of five ISA members in San Francisco who have been framed up by the FBI. Messages of support were heard from the Organization of Arab Students and groups of Eritrean, Filipino, and Chinese students.

Erich Martel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board in Washington, D.C., spoke at the rally. He voiced the SWP's "complete solidarity with the Iranian Students Association in their struggle against the brutal dictatorship of the shah," and pledged to help defend the San Francisco Five.

In San Francisco, more than 400 people held a rally and picket line in front of the federal building and then marched to the Iranian consulate. They carried signs and banners saying, "CIA-SAVAK torture Iranian patriots," "Shah and Thieu—Nixon's puppets—Down with the Shah," and "Oppose \$3-billion armaments purchase."

Speakers at the rally represented the ISA, Arab Students Association, Union of South Vietnamese Students, and Revolutionary Union. They denounced U.S. complicity with the Iranian monarchy.

The shah's current visit to pick up

a few F-14 "Tomcat" fighter-bombers, at \$14-million each, is just part of a \$2- to \$3-billion arms deal with the U.S. At least 1,000 U.S. military personnel are now stationed in Iran, and more than 11,000 Iranian soldiers have received training in the U.S.

The massive military buildup is intended to give Iran the military capability to act as the main bulwark of imperialism in the oil-rich Arab-Persian Gulf area. Already Iran has invaded and occupied three strategically placed islands in the Gulf for military bases and sent troops to Oman to help crush the Dhofar rebellion.

In an interview in the July 4 *New York Times*, Premier Amir Abbas Hoveida explained that Iran is concerned that the Gulf not "turn into a hotbed for subversion in the region." He said, "Any activity, directed from whatever source, that would aim to disrupt the free flow of oil will not be tolerated."

The military hardware supplied by the U.S. is also used for the brutal repression of national minorities in Iran, like the Baluchis and Kurds, and political dissidents. Student demonstrations broke out earlier this spring when the big arms purchase was announced, and the shah's Special Forces Commandos attacked the campuses, reportedly killing some 50 students. Iranian political prisoners are often tortured by the shah's police.



Militant/Erich Martel

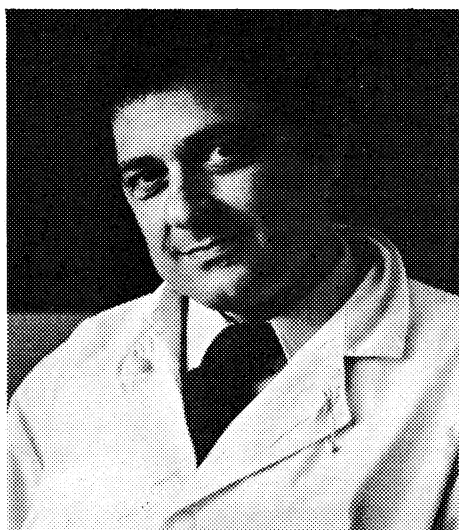
Iranian student demonstrators in Washington wore masks to prevent victimization by shah's secret political police.

Defense campaign in France: End ban on revolutionists; Free Krivine & Rousset!

By CAROLINE LUND

PARIS—The following interview with Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn was obtained July 23. Dr. Kahn is the coordinator of a drive to obtain a massive number of signatures on an appeal protesting the French government's repressive moves against the Communist League and urging support to a national campaign in defense of the democratic rights of this political organization.

Dr. Kahn is well known in France as a long-time leader of the French antiwar movement. He is a leader of the Indochina Solidarity Front, which has organized numerous demonstrations in France over the past years, and is also a leader of the Franco-



Militant/Caroline Lund

DR. KAHN: Heads drive for hundreds of thousands of signatures.

Vietnamese Medical Association.

The appeal Dr. Kahn is coordinating was first published in the July 8-9 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. At that point it was signed by nearly 500 prominent figures, including Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Constantine Costa-Gavras, Marguerite Duras, Simone Signoret, and leaders of a whole spectrum of political and trade union organizations in France, including the CGT and CFDT, the two largest trade-union federations in the country.

The French government banned the Communist League on June 28. It used as its pretext a June 21 anti-fascist demonstration, sponsored by the League, during which police confronted the demonstrators.

Alain Krivine, the presidential candidate of the League in the 1969 elections, was arrested under the "anti-wrecker law" — a sweeping piece of witch-hunt legislation giving the government the right to victimize leaders of an organization for any illegal acts committed by anyone in the course of a demonstration called by that organization.

Pierre Rousset, another leader of the Communist League, is well known for his work in the French antiwar movement. He was arrested simply for being present in the Communist League headquarters June 22 when police came to "search" it. They sacked the offices, causing thousands of dollars worth of damage, and seized weapons they claimed were illegal.

Further information about the defense campaign demanding freedom for Krivine and Rousset and lifting of the ban on the Communist League can be obtained from: M.-F. Kahn, 15, rue Clerc, Paris 7, France.

The defense committee asks that let-

ters or telegrams of protest be sent to the Pompidou government, with copies to the committee in care of the same address.

Q: What is the political basis of the National Committee for the Repeal of the Ban against the Communist League?

A: Our goal in forming the committee was to build as large as possible a front of struggle against the repression the Communist League and its leaders have been subjected to.

Under these circumstances it was correct to focus the activity of this committee around three precise demands—for repeal of the ban on the Communist League, freedom for Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, and the dropping of all charges against other leaders and members of the League. It was correct to avoid centering it on more specific political considerations that would necessarily limit the number of supporters.

Thus, we have obtained signatures on a national appeal from nearly all the national leaders of the Socialist Party, and of a certain number of the leaders of the CFDT. We have even obtained the signatures of a certain number of militants, mainly teachers, who belong to the Communist Party. We have also gained the support of many well-known religious, liberal, and progressive figures.

And one should realize that these people would not have signed our appeal (and consequently would not have participated in this campaign) if we had made certain of its political formulations more precise. I mean, for example, formulations about the events of June 21, or about the anti-racist campaign.

While everyone who signed the appeal is of course opposed to racism, their formulations vary a great deal according to whether they belong to reformist currents or to revolutionary organizations.

This is why we chose to focus on three extremely precise points. And I must say that now, looking back after three weeks, we are very happy with the vast audience this appeal has gained.

Q: How successful has the campaign been so far in terms of signatures on the appeal and other forms of support?

A: First of all, the appeal was launched in a period that is hardly the most favorable. In France, the period from July 10 to Aug. 20 is the time for vacations; many people are not at home and can't be reached. In spite of this, we have already been able to collect thousands of signatures including hundreds of extremely significant endorsements from the political, trade-union, and university milieus, and from many other prominent figures.

At present, since I'm the one who coordinates the correspondence, I receive additional hundreds of signatures every day.

Considering the time of the year, the success of the campaign demonstrates the impact the dissolution of the Communist League and the jailing of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset have had on very large sectors of public opinion, even sectors very far from being revolutionary.

Q: Are you collecting signatures

Int'l protests continue

Protests against the banning of the French Communist League and the imprisonment of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset continue around the world. The July 13 issue of *Rouge* reported that in Switzerland a statement protesting the repression against the League was signed by the Geneva Socialist Party, the Valais Socialist Party, and the Autonomous Socialist Party (Tessin).

The Lebanese Revolutionary Communist Group distributed a protest leaflet the day after the ban came down. It said in part: "The French government's decision to dissolve the Ligue Communiste after having authorized the holding of a racist, anti-Arab, and anti-Semitic meeting and after using its police forces to protect that meeting, is proof that this government, while it looks favorably on Arab capital and Arab oil wells, does not hesitate to openly show its claws to Arab workers and their defenders. . . . Down with the ban on the Communist League! Solidarity with those who have shown their soli-

arity with our brother workers!"

The Revolutionary Socialist League in Denmark initiated a united front meeting in front of the French Embassy in Copenhagen June 30. There were also demonstrations at French consulates in the main provincial cities.

On July 3 a solidarity meeting of 120 persons took place in Fort-de-France in the Antilles, organized by the Socialist Revolution Group. Actions protesting the French government's repressive moves also took place in Mexico City and Tokyo.

In a July 7 statement, the Official Irish Republican Movement added its protest to the banning of the Communist League. It said, "Sinn Fein, despite many political disagreements with the Ligue Communiste in France, condemns the suppression of this organisation, which is on a par with the suppression by the British Government of political organisations in the North of Ireland."

only of well-known personalities?

A: No. It happened of course that the first signatures came from political and trade-union circles and from the universities and intellectuals. These people are easy to get in touch with simply by telephone, and they are used to being contacted this way. What was very interesting was that within two weeks, lists of hundreds of signatures began to arrive from provincial cities and from the region surrounding Paris. These signatures came from varied enterprises and factories. Some were collected by the trade-union locals themselves, and others were gathered by local committees created on the basis of the national appeal. There have also been signatures from the biggest companies, from hospitals, and from entire offices.

Q: What are the perspectives of the committee for the coming months?

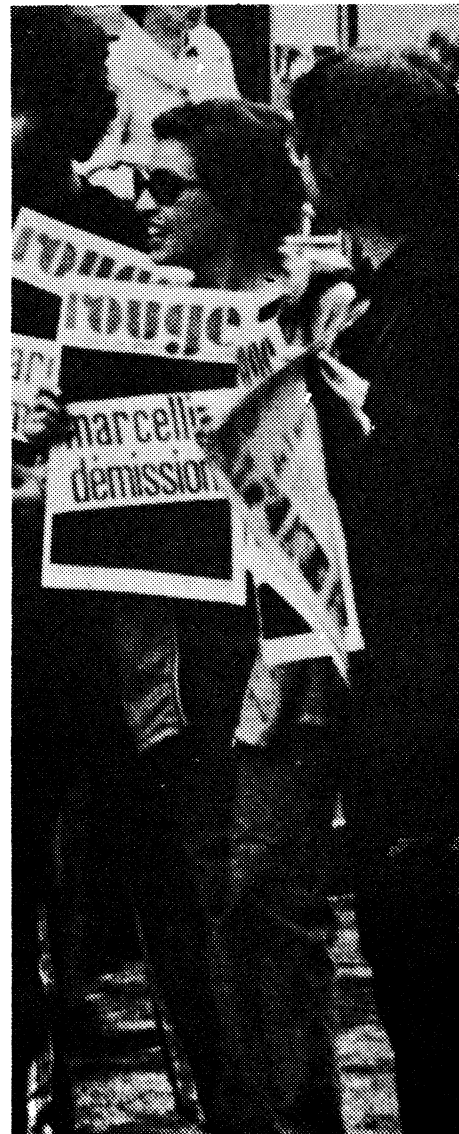
A: It is necessary, of course, to distinguish between what we can do now during the vacation period and what we can do once everyone returns. It is also necessary to take the political context into consideration, especially whether Krivine and Rousset are kept in prison and the outcome of their hearing and trial.

Our immediate objective is to form committees wherever possible and to gather more signatures on the appeal. In the last few weeks we have been able to collect thousands of signatures but our goal is tens of thousands, and, if possible (and it is not excluded), hundreds of thousands. We also hope to raise money along with the signatures. We will also act to keep the government from taking measures against the newspaper *Rouge*, which is still authorized but could come under attack, especially in August, the quietest month of the year in France. Moreover, on Wednesday afternoon (July 25) we are sending a delegation to the Minister of Justice. He has not replied to our demand for a meeting but we are going anyway to present him with the expressed sup-

port of the thousands of people who have written us. We will also firmly demand that the lower-court ruling to free Krivine provisionally should be executed.

The delegation will include leaders from the highest level of the Socialist Party and the CFDT. Also, figures from the universities, from the theater

Continued on page 26



Militant/Caroline Lund

Faced by wide-scale protest against dissolution of Communist League, French government has been forced to allow the selling of *Rouge*, formerly the newspaper of the League.

Police, JDL attack N.Y. school meeting Community activists fight to keep gains

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK — On July 19, more than 600 people, most of them angry parents from Manhattan's Lower East Side, attended the first public meeting of the new District 1 school board.

The parents were there to protest the board's first actions. These include moving the district office from the heart of the Puerto Rican community, where it has been for the past year, to a predominantly white area at the edge of the district, and the firing of two pro-community-control staff members.

The new school board is dominated by members of a United Federation of Teachers (UFT) slate elected May 1.



Sign at July 19 rally says, "Forward with Fuentes. We will not take one step back!"

These members strongly oppose the policies of Luis Fuentes, the district's superintendent and the only Puerto Rican superintendent in the city's school system.

The election that put this white majority on the school board in a district where the student population is overwhelmingly nonwhite, was marked by frauds and undemocratic maneuvers. Hundreds of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese voters were turned away from the polls.

Before the board meeting, a spirited

rally protested the board's recent actions. Then, led by the three pro-community-control members still on the board, nearly 200 people marched through the Lower East Side chanting, "Fuentes Sí! Shanker No!" They marched to the auditorium of P.S. 134, where they entered to participate in the meeting.

The large turnout and the speeches of community activists who voiced their opposition to the new board's actions clearly showed that the community is not going to let the new board reverse without a struggle the gains that have been won. The response to this significant protest was an attack on the meeting by 50 to 60 members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League (JDL), who were armed with sticks and pipes.

Marshals from the community, organized by the Coalition for Education, were successful in holding violence to a minimum, and the JDL goons were ejected. However, police used a second attack by the JDL as an excuse to break up the meeting.

When the final melee occurred, the six anti-community-control members of the board moved off into a corner and passed the motions they wanted. This was in violation of the 1969 state decentralization law, which provides that school boards must vote in public meetings on matters relating to the administration of the schools.

Under the old board (eight of whose nine members backed community control of the schools), meetings were conducted in Spanish and English. Also, many parents and activists participated in the open agenda period, a time when the community could make itself heard on issues of concern to all.

In contrast to this, the new board cut the allotted speaking time for non-board members from four minutes to one minute. The chairman continually cut speakers off by turning off the floor microphone with a switch at the platform. Judy Baumann, the national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, was recognized as one of the speakers, but was denied her right to speak when she began to present documentation of fraud in the school board elections.

The board also cut off Miriam Gonzales, who represents the 20 Parents Associations in the district, after only one minute. Pro-community-control board member Henry Ramos protested and tried to turn the microphone back on, but the board chairman prevented him from doing so. (It was during this brief struggle that the JDL made their second attempt to break up the meeting.)

At a news conference the next day, the three procommunity board members, Georgina Hoggard, Henry Ramos, and Lyle Brown, and their attorney, Arnold Rothbaum, announced that they would challenge the proceedings in court. "The entire meeting was conducted in a manner that violates the school board's own bylaws," said Rothbaum.

In a July 18 column in the *New York Post*, James Wechsler pointed out that the election in District 1 was dominated by people who have no children in the schools, but who were driven to vote "by panic overtones of the anti-Fuentes crusade."

The crusade against Fuentes, the pro-community-control superintendent of schools in District 1, has continued. UFT President Albert Shanker devoted both his July 8 and July 15 weekly advertisement columns in the *New York Times* to attacking Fuentes.

Although there has been extensive

news coverage of the July 19 school board meeting, most reporters have failed to put the blame for the violence at the meeting where it belonged — on the undemocratic procedures of the Shankerite board members and their JDL supporters.

Donald Brown, one of the UFT-supported board members, expressed the attitude of his colleagues in an interview the day after the controversial meeting. Brown characterized the people Fuentes had hired in the district office as "roaches coming out of the walls."

In previous statements to the media the anti-Fuentes members of the board explained their decision to move the district offices by saying they did not want the remaining pro-community-control board members to "raise a crowd of yelling, screaming people from the tenements surrounding Junior High School 71, where the offices are now located."

Supporters of community control in District 1 have vowed to mobilize as many people as possible to oppose the moving of the district office from its present location and to defend all other gains won since Fuentes became superintendent a year ago.

Those interested in helping in this struggle can contact the Coalition for Education, P. O. Box 250, New York, N. Y. 10009.



More than 600 people turned out July 19 at the first meeting of the new District 1 school board to protest racist actions of Shankerite majority.

Opposition to Shanker grows in UFT

By ANN ZULAWSKI

NEW YORK — Opposition to Albert Shanker is growing within the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), the New York affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers.

The Teachers' Action Caucus (TAC), an opposition group within the UFT, issued an open letter to the UFT president on June 12, criticizing him for supporting the central school board's racist March 30 decision on Canarsie.

According to the central board's decision, children who live in the predominantly Black Tilden Houses in Brownsville will be "phased out" of school District 18 (Canarsie-Flatbush) in the next eight years.

The ruling was a capitulation to white parents in Canarsie who had been boycotting the schools since March 1. They were trying to get the school chancellor to reverse a ruling that *did not* exclude Brownsville chil-

dren from Canarsie schools.

The TAC letter was a response to an attack by Albert Shanker on Kenneth Clark, the only Black member of the state board of regents. Clark called for the immediate removal of the New York City board of education on the grounds that the March 30 decision constituted "the exclusion of Black and Puerto Rican children from District 18 based on color and race."

The TAC letter said in part: "You [Shanker] were opposing community control here [Canarsie], you said, as you had done in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. It is a strange coincidence that your 'opposition to community control' should, in both instances, add up to opposition to the methods by which Black and Puerto Rican parents seek a better education for their children. . . ."

"You state that our union is in 'substantive agreement' with the objectives of the boycotting parents (even though

we are opposed to the use of a boycott to achieve them) because these same parents—the ones who massed outside JHS 211 to shout racist epithets at Black and Puerto Rican youngsters who dared to enter—were actually fighting for integration. . . . You said that the racists' fears were legitimate; that, in this case, the presence of 31 Black and Puerto Rican children would 'tip' the schools. . . ."

TAC maintains that Shanker, rather than building a coalition between parents and unionists to help reverse the destruction of the public schools, has "joined forces with those who portray Black and Puerto Rican children as the main cause of all problems in the schools."

The TAC letter pointed to the thousands of cuts in staff, the book shortage, and the intolerable physical condition of many school buildings as things the UFT should be addressing itself to instead of attacking the right

of Black and Puerto Rican parents to send their children to schools where they feel they have a better chance of receiving a decent education.

The TAC letter received prominent notice in *El Diario*, the *New York Voice*, and the *Amsterdam News*, reflecting the anger in the Puerto Rican and Black communities at the central board's Canarsie ruling.

In another development, the UFT delegate assembly overrode Shanker's opposition and passed a resolution June 20 condemning the New York City board of education for supporting the state's attempt to introduce military training programs in the junior and senior high schools.

This action by the delegate assembly was an unprecedented revolt against Shanker's prowar policies. The resolution opposing ROTC was introduced by Rueben Mitchell, a UFT executive board member, and was

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The racist Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike Shankerism in action: a case history

By JEFF MACKLER

The concerted and intensified government attack on teachers and public education provoked a record number of strikes this past year. More than 145 took place, representing a 63 percent increase over the 89 teachers' strikes of 1971-72.

With few exceptions, teachers and their organizations saw the strikes as defensive actions. Nationally, the average salary "increase" for teachers was 4 percent, which in light of an inflation rate of 8 percent, left teachers with an actual decrease in real wages.

In addition to the massive cutbacks in spending for public education, the number of unemployed teachers continued to rise, as local school boards and city administrations attempted to solve their budget crises at the expense of teachers. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) estimates of teacher unemployment exceed 250,000.

It has become clear that the traditional approaches of the AFT and National Education As-

sociation (NEA) leaderships have proved inadequate to meet the nationwide attacks on teachers and the schools. The most powerful AFT local in the U.S., the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), was not able to prevent the New York City board of education from firing 5,000 teachers during the past year. Similar cutbacks have also occurred in other major cities.



Militant/Brian Shannon

Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike was directed against the right of Black and Puerto Rican communities to control their schools. To Shankerites, 'race hatred' was the teaching of Black pride, and 'mob rule' was Blacks and Puerto Ricans having a say in how their schools were run.

Since the racist strike led by UFT President Albert Shanker in New York in 1968, the AFT has generally moved away from attempting to form real alliances with the Black communities in the major cities. This attitude has undoubtedly weakened the position of the AFT.

Instead of such alliances, the AFT leadership has viewed support to the Democratic Party as the principal way to secure gains for teachers and improvements in public education. The AFT poured tens of thousands of dollars into the various Democratic Party election campaigns in 1972. The NEA did the same, although its greater size enabled it to spend even larger amounts than the AFT.

Democratic Party officeholders have offered no help to striking teachers across the U.S., and have often been among the most virulent in their attempts to break teachers' strikes. Yet the leadership of the

A case in point

The 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville teachers' strike in New York is a case in point, illustrating in extreme form many of the pitfalls in the approach of the AFT leaders. During 1967 and 1968 the real horror of the New York City schools became public knowledge for the first time. Reports from federal, state, and city agencies as well as a number of university studies thoroughly documented the state of deterioration.

It was found that a majority of Black and Puerto Rican students, who comprised 52 percent of the city's 1.2 million students, graduated from high school functionally illiterate.

In ghetto high schools absentee rates often exceeded 50 percent. On the junior high school level the figure was more than 30 percent. Reading and math test scores declined each year.

The number of Black and Puerto Rican students graduating with academic diplomas was under 7 percent. In some ghetto schools it was less than 2 percent. Of the 900 schools in the city, there were three with regular principals who were Black or Puerto Rican.

Black and Puerto Rican parents were no longer willing to tolerate a school system that provided little or no education or hope for their children. They demanded greater control over the schools as part of the fight for control of their communities. This struggle was directed against the New York board of education, not the UFT.

Some 13 plans for school decentralization, differing mainly in the degree to which they claimed to provide for actual control over decision-making at the local level, were submitted for consideration. However, none of the proposals provided any significant amount of control by the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Authority remained, with few exceptions, with the central board.

But even the most minimal decentralization proposals were rejected by Shanker, who continually sought to equate decentralization and community control with "mob rule." Community activists were smeared as "racists" and "vigilantes."

The UFT tops began a campaign against community control of the schools by Blacks and Puerto Ricans that aligned them with the most reactionary elements in the city.

The Shanker leadership of the UFT allocated some \$500,000 to oppose decentralization in the New York state legislature. To this end they supported a bill introduced by Republican-Conservative State Senator John Marchi that would have postponed all decentralization plans for one year. Shanker later rewarded the antilabor, anti-civil liberties Marchi with a \$1,000 contribution to his campaign for mayor of New York.

The 1968 strike was triggered by the UFT's charge that 19 teachers and administrators had been fired by the experimental community school board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, a Black section of Brooklyn. In fact, nobody had been fired. The 19 teachers were transferred.

But Shanker insisted that they had been fired and proceeded to unleash a campaign of racist lies geared to discrediting the struggle for community control and encouraging opposition to pending statewide decentralization legislation.

Shanker's record

Shanker's real record on the issue of due process and firing teachers is instructive in analyzing the strike.

In 1968, 2,800 teachers were fired by the board of education—some for participating in antiwar demonstrations—and not one was granted a hearing or any other form of due process. Shanker never raised a word of protest on their behalf.

It was common knowledge in the UFT that teachers were arbitrarily fired and transferred every day

in city schools. While UFT building representatives often made deals with school officials in reference to transfers, they never protested to the board of education over the issue.

Thus, Shanker's real concern in 1968 was not the due process rights of a small group of teachers. He had decided that all efforts by the Black and Puerto Rican communities to control their schools had to be stopped. In this battle, he joined with the Council of Supervisory Associations (the organization of school administrators) and reversed many of the progressive stands the union had taken in past years.

Anti-Semitism?

UFT officials embarked on their campaign to oppose community control with a vengeance. The UFT office issued two million leaflets alleging that a major element in the strike was Black anti-Semitism. These leaflets cited reprints of anti-Semitic tracts union teachers were said to have found circulating in the community. In fact, the anti-Semitic leaflets were later proved to be forgeries.

The logic of Shanker's course was deadly, ending in a nine-week city-wide strike by the 90 percent white UFT against a tiny local school district in the heart of a Brooklyn ghetto. Eleven thousand teachers, including many of the UFT's finest militants, joined parents and students in crossing Shanker's picket lines and opening the schools. Within a year, nearly 20,000 teachers left the UFT.

The real issue in the 1968 strike was Shanker's view that the fight of Blacks and Puerto Ricans against the racism of the school board and city administration was directed against the union. In the course of rejecting this struggle, Shanker cemented an alliance with all those who opposed community control regardless of their positions on other issues.

Thus, on June 12, 1968, Shanker submitted a motion to the delegate assembly of the UFT to "support all those state legislators who supported



New York, 1968. Students and teachers rally to oppose UFT's racist strike.

our decentralization legislation and oppose all those who oppose it." Of the 93 New York State legislators who voted in favor of the most antionion collective bargaining law in the U.S., the notorious Taylor Law, the UFT supported 70 under the above motion.

Racist policies

The racist policies of the Shanker leadership have alienated the Black and Puerto Rican population of New York from the UFT and weakened the union. While the UFT was isolated from its natural allies in the fight for decent schools and working conditions, it used its resources in behalf of its enemies. The militant struggles of teachers over the past year have made all the more clear the need to break with this self-defeating course.

NEA moves toward merger with AFT

By JOHN STUDER
and GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND—The 111th annual convention of the National Education Association (NEA) was held June 29 to July 6. More than 9,000 delegates met in Portland's Memorial Coliseum to discuss and debate the problems facing teachers.

The convention opened with a three-day critical issues conference, separated from the business agenda. Workshop sessions were held on racism, the oppression of women, student rights, foreign policy, and other issues. Interspersed among the workshops were addresses by prominent educators and various Democratic and Republican party officials.

The convention was marked by a

the NEA at this convention, a new step for this group.

The attacks of the Nixon administration on education have brought to the fore the fact that teachers in this country are divided into two rival organizations. These are the NEA, representing 1.4 million teachers mainly in the rural and suburban areas, and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), representing 385,000 teachers, predominantly in the urban centers.

This division is rooted in the NEA's longtime contention that teachers were "professionals" rather than working people, and that therefore a union organization was inappropriate.

These old differences have been largely overcome under the pressures

couple of years in New York, Los Angeles, and other cities. This outmoded division between the NEA and the AFT and how to overcome it and combine teachers in a powerful united organization was one of the major issues facing the convention.

The AFT, which is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, has demanded that any discussion of merger have affiliation with the national labor federation accepted as a precondition before talks can begin. But many NEA members are wary of the bureaucratic practices of George Meany and Company and fear being swamped in the racist, pro-war atmosphere generated by the AFL-CIO tops.

These fears are reflected most strongly around issues relating to the struggles of oppressed minorities throughout the country. In an NEA statement regarding merger, this problem is tied into that of AFL-CIO affiliation:

"NEA's commitment to the rights of minorities must be preserved. The new organization must guarantee appropriate minority representation in all aspects of its governance and operation. Although the specific nature of this involvement could be the subject of negotiations, our proposal guarantees that at a minimum, each governing body of the organization have representation which reflects at least the minority population of the organization."

It is precisely on these issues that the AFT is weakest. Albert Shanker is the president of the United Federation of Teachers, the New York affiliate of the AFT. Shanker's record in relation to the struggles of Black people and other oppressed nationalities is a constant reminder of these deep differences and remains a major stumbling block to merger. Shanker was a delegate to this convention, and it was around his role and positions that one of the hottest debates of the convention took place.

A speech to the critical issues session by Jonathan Kozol stressed that the approach necessary for teachers to build a movement to change prior-

ities in this country had to take as a point of departure the traditions of the civil rights fights of the 1960s. Kozol wound up by condemning the racist practices of Shanker in New York. The convention was in an uproar, but Kozol had articulated the fears of many delegates in relation to merger.

Shanker demanded the floor of the convention to answer Kozol's charges. He tried to justify the UFT's racist strike against the Black and Puerto Rican communities in 1968 and his more recent opposition to community control forces in New York's predominantly Puerto Rican District 1. Shanker's defense centered on explaining the evils of "racism in reverse."

"There is white racism and there is Black racism," Shanker said, "and we ought to be opposed to both."

Shanker also protested the fact that Lauri Wynn, chairwoman of the NEA Black Caucus, was being granted time after he spoke to comment on the question of policy toward minority communities.

The confirmation of Shanker's racist policies and other examples of his unwillingness to take forward-looking stands as part of a social program for teachers, such as his opposition to the NEA's, and the AFT's, anti-war position, was the strongest factor in impeding progress toward merger. Despite this, the NEA leadership pledged itself to opening negotiations with the AFT on merger before the year is out.

In other actions, the convention passed a strong resolution against the continued U.S. bombing in Southeast Asia, and a number of resolutions supporting the Chicano movement and programs aimed at bilingual education. However, it did not resolve to support the United Farm Workers Union in its struggle against the grower-Teamster coalition.

Moreover, many of these positions have no mechanism for implementation. Many in the NEA, including its leadership, look to Democratic Party politicians to solve the social problems they see, including the crisis of the schools.



NEA head called for increase in federal funding of education. Philadelphia teachers are shown above during February 1973 strike support demonstration.

mood of militancy and social concern. Government cutbacks in funds for education, as well as teacher unemployment, inflation, and attacks on working conditions have resulted in a sharp increase in teachers' strikes over the past year. This was reflected in the establishment of a strike fund by

of the situation facing teachers today. The dominant activity of both organizations in the recent past has been the fight to win collective bargaining rights, decent wages, and good working conditions for teachers across the country.

Mergers have taken place in the last

Why Chicago Blacks fought Shanker visit

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO—The opposition to Shankerism was shown here in May when the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) had to cancel its annual education conference because of protest over Albert Shanker's scheduled appearance.

Leading the struggle against Shanker's appearance was the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and *The Daily Defender*, a Black community newspaper here. *The Defender* stated that Shanker "is the man who led white teachers in New York on an indefensible strike against the black community" in 1968.

So many people refused to speak on the same platform with Shanker that CTU President Robert Healy was forced to admit that with Shanker speaking "we could not have an integrated conference." Later Shanker was given time to defend his record before a meeting of the CTU.

According to Shanker, the real en-

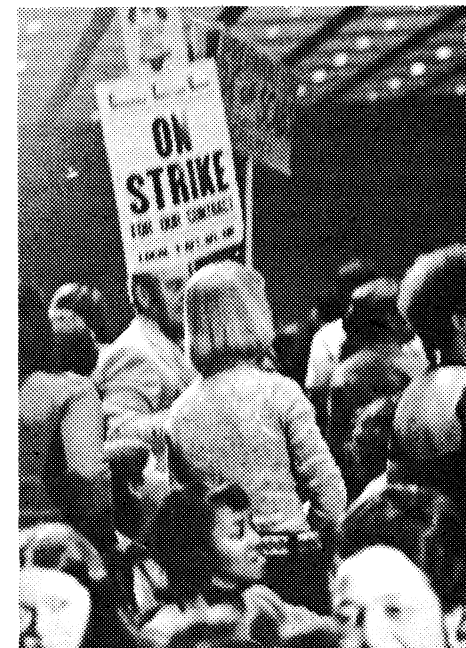
emy of teachers is "a handful of radicals trying to disrupt our union." But it is Shanker who doesn't know who the real enemy is. He fears the Black and Spanish-speaking parents and students—the people who stand to benefit most from any improvement in the education system.

The Chicago Teachers Union was able to conduct a successful strike this past January largely because it was able to win the active support of many Black community groups and a group of Black labor leaders. This was a step in the right direction, but the real test for the CTU and all AFT locals will come when Black and Spanish-speaking communities put forth demands to control their schools.

Teachers should unconditionally support this demand. It is the right of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos to learn their own history and to be taught about their culture. Puerto Rican children have the right to learn

in their own language. But these rights are systematically denied to them by a racist educational system in a racist society.

Although teachers can be important allies in the struggles of Blacks and other oppressed minorities for control of their communities, the leadership of this struggle can only be in the hands of the oppressed themselves. And this is also true in the schools. The Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities must have the right to run their own schools as they see fit. Within this context, teachers unions can play a valuable role and win powerful allies in their fight for better schools and decent pay. But this can only be done if the racist policies of Shanker and those like him are repudiated. Shanker's opposition to the oppressed minorities' struggles to win the rights so long denied to them can only hurt the American Federation of Teachers.



Militant/Bob Kissinger

Chicago teachers at strike rally in January 1973.

Issues before the AFT convention

By FRANK LOVELL

The "on again—off again" differences between the two top leaders of the American Federation of Teachers—President David Selden and Vice-president Albert Shanker—have taken on a new form as a result of a number of developments this past year.

Shanker is also president of the New York City United Federation of Teachers (UFT), by far the largest of the AFT's 826 locals.

Selden is a complacent bureaucrat who would like to be left alone to administer union policy within the guidelines of AFT convention decisions and

Shanker further strengthened his position by negotiating a top-level "merger" of the UFT with the much larger New York State Teachers Association (NYSTA). This merger, which has a potential combined membership of 300,000 teachers, was first announced in April 1972 but was not completed until this May.

Under the arrangement worked out by NYSTA President Thomas Hobart and Shanker, the two organizations retain their affiliation with both the National Education Association (NEA) and the AFT. Teachers throughout New York State now be-

long to a joint dues-paying organization, which entitles Shanker and Hobart to represent them at the national conventions of both the NEA and the AFT.

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SHANKER: His racist policies are the main obstacle to teacher unity.

organize the unorganized teachers in a democratic union.

NEA positions

The provision for minority representation on all governing bodies of the new union recognizes that teachers must work closely with Black and Puerto Rican communities to promote better schools. It rejects Shanker's demagogic attacks on "quota systems," and his current racist diatribes against school superintendent Luis Fuentes and community-control activists in New York's school District 1.

Furthermore, the NEA requirement that the new union must elect national officers by secret ballot is an attempt to ensure democracy within the new organization. The NEA had a first-hand opportunity to observe Shanker's methods at the Portland convention and drew the conclusion that they will need some protection. If there are still any doubts on this question, they need only look to the UFT, where Shanker's racist policies virtually exclude Blacks from participation in union policy making.

These are facts that delegates to the AFT convention will be reminded of when Shanker demands endorsement of his self-serving, divisive policies. His course may temporarily thwart

Continued on page 26



September 1972. Detroit teachers demonstrate against Nixon's economic policies. Teachers need cost-of-living escalators to keep wages abreast of rising prices.

in strict accordance with the requirements of local politics. He seeks to settle problems within the union and to apply union pressure on local school boards through his support of Democratic Party politicians.

Shanker is more ambitious. He is out to impose the dictatorial practices and racist policies of the UFT on the national organization. He identifies with the George Meany wing of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and hopes to become a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

A behind-the-scenes battle between Selden and Shanker has been going on for several years, usually within the same caucus. At the 1972 AFT convention both operated in the "Progressive" caucus, each with his own aims.

Shanker easily outmaneuvered Selden and has gained a decisive advantage. His 70,000-member UFT is about 20 percent of the total AFT membership. He has stifled opposition in his closed New York organization and has imposed the unit-voting rule on the UFT delegation, enabling him to wield a solid voting bloc at the AFT convention.

Shanker's machine

The big New York local is wealthier than the national AFT, which depends on local per capita payments. Consequently, Shanker is able to "help" other weaker locals. This paves the way for personally ambitious local officials to seek political support from the New York organization.

Such support is granted on a strict *quid pro quo* basis. In this way Shanker has managed to build machine support nationally for his personal ambitions in the AFT.

long to a joint dues-paying organization, which entitles Shanker and Hobart to represent them at the national conventions of both the NEA and the AFT.

Shanker maneuvered to push Hobart aside and was able to lead a delegation of 900 to the recent NEA convention in Portland, Ore. Selden was also there as a member of the New York delegation.

Most of the 9,000 delegates at the NEA convention got an unfavorable impression of Shanker when he reiterated his support for the racist 1968 strike of the UFT. His arrogant conduct at the convention didn't help him any either.

When Shanker goes to the AFT convention in Washington, D.C., Aug. 20 with his bloc of combined NYSTA-UFT votes, he may have a mechanical majority.

He demonstrated his determination to wrest unchallenged control at an AFT emergency executive council meeting April 11. At the meeting, he sought to censure Selden and demanded that Selden confine his activities to the national office in Washington.

Both efforts failed. But the AFT council did repudiate Selden's public criticism of Shanker and elevated Shanker to the position of executive vice-president. This made his official AFT title important enough for a position on the AFL-CIO executive Council, but the appointment has not yet come through.

What's at stake?

The stakes at the AFT convention are much higher than Shanker's personal ambitions. They are the prospect of uniting the 1.4-million-mem-

A program to build the AFT

Government attacks on public education dictate joint action by the labor movement and the oppressed minorities. The following is a program for such action:

- 1) Detent wages for all teachers and other school employees. No support to Nixon's wage controls. An escalator clause in all contracts to ensure that pay checks keep pace with the rising cost of living.
- 2) Repeal all antistrike and anti-union legislation, including the infamous Taylor law in New York and the federal Taft-Hartley law.
- 3) Cut class sizes by putting every jobless teacher to work. Full federal compensation for every teacher not placed in a class room.
- 4) Full federal funding of public education. Free education for all from kindergarten through the university.

A special crash program to build new, fully equipped and adequately staffed schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. This is necessary to catch up with decades of inferior education in these communities. Administra-

tion of this crash program, as well as determining the curriculum, hiring personnel, and making decisions about other aspects of running the schools are the right of the people in these oppressed communities—a right the AFT should support unconditionally.

- 5) Full and vigorous support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), for equal pay for equal work, and maternity leaves. Federal funding for day-care centers available to all children.
- 6) The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and all other foreign lands. Use the \$81-billion war budget for education and other socially necessary programs.

- 7) Support free speech and assembly for students, their right to form political organizations and participate in political activities.
- Get all cops out of the schools and class rooms.

- 8) Support independent political action and endorse the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions to give working people an effective voice in government.

Suing the FBI

The case of Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student, adds a new dimension to the developing counteroffensive against government spying and harassment. Lori Paton was subjected to an FBI investigation because she wrote a letter, as part of a social studies project, asking for information about socialist groups.

She is now suing the government for \$65,000 and seeking a court order prohibiting the FBI from engaging in this kind of activity.

Literally hundreds of high school students working on similar class projects have written for information about the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance. Thousands of others have expressed an active interest in working with socialists, receiving socialist newspapers like *The Militant*, or joining the YSA. And high school students by the millions—most of whom, like Lori Paton, aren't socialists—have been involved in protest activity that Nixon's gang would undoubtedly find objectionable.

Have these students also been spied on by the FBI, or put on some secret list of government "enemies"? Judging from this one case, the answer is yes.

The investigation of Lori Paton came to light as a result of a combination of circumstances that, before Watergate, were probably pretty rare. Her principal, instead of quietly giving an FBI agent what he wanted, called Lori and her teacher in to confront the agent. Lori's teacher, instead of dismissing the incident as a "mistake," saw the importance of the affair. Watergate has undoubtedly had an impact on the thinking of this social studies teacher. Lori's parents, too, decided to back her up, rather than trying to quiet the whole thing down.

Above all, Lori herself decided that the time had come to take the offensive. She decided to get some publicity, find some lawyers, and make "a federal case out of it."

Perhaps she, like so many others who have watched and read about the Watergate hearings, became acutely aware of the gap between the "democracy" we are taught about in high school, and the reality of the operations of the capitalist government.

Whatever her reasons, Lori Paton has decided enough is enough.

Hopefully, her example will inspire others who have until now remained silent to come forward and publicize instances of harassment or spying by the FBI and other government agencies.

One of the objectives of the political and legal offensive on Watergate undertaken by the YSA and the SWP is precisely to encourage the Lori Patons to fight for their rights.

If the suit filed on behalf of the SWP and YSA is successful, it will be a victory for socialists and nonsocialists alike. It will be a victory for the Lori Patons, as well as for the radicals, the unionists, the Black activists, and everyone else who doesn't want to knuckle under to the dictates of the capitalist government.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is undertaking to raise the substantial sums of money needed for this case, as well as to publicize the issues and solicit sponsorship, urgently needs your help. The PRDF has to raise tens of thousands of dollars to cover legal expenses in the next few months. Please send a contribution to the Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737 New York, N. Y. 10011.

Support UFW

California growers suffered a setback in the recent Coachella Valley grape strike. They had hoped, in collusion with the corrupt Teamster officialdom, to crush the United Farm Workers Union and deprive the farm workers of their hard-won gains. Although the UFW could not prevent the grapes from being picked, they did succeed in pulling most of the experienced workers out of the fields. As a result the growers harvested an inferior crop and took a financial loss.

The UFW scored another victory when public revulsion at the Teamster goon attacks on UFW pickets forced the withdrawal of the hired thugs.

However, the growers have yet to be dealt a decisive blow that would win union recognition for the UFW. The struggle has now moved to the San Joaquin Valley.

The outcome of this struggle depends not only on what happens in the fields, but also on the public support mobilized for the UFW. Now is the time to step up these actions and launch an all-out drive for the boycott of non-UFW grapes.

Viva la huelga!

Free speech on radio

Recently a militant revolutionary Black broadcaster by the name of Frank Greenwood was kicked off KPFFK-FM for the second time. Each time he was terminated he had done programs critical of the Zionist governmental policies of Israel in Palestine and in Africa. His termination, in our opinion, is a flagrant denial of KPFFK's claim of being a First Amendment free speech radio station.

We of the KPFFK Committee of Concern, being grassroots listeners and supporters of the station, want to change KPFFK's arbitrary and dictatorial policies of censorship and unresponsiveness to the desires and needs of all Southern California listeners.

We recommend the reinstatement of Greenwood's program and the inclusion of more programs that reflect the burning issues, needs, wants, and causes of all Southern Californians.

Those agreeing with our principles are urged to send letters of protest to KPFFK, North Hollywood, Calif. 91608.

*KPFFK Committee of Concern
Los Angeles, Calif*

To enhance knowledge

I am the Senior Editor of the "Boneyard" Journal and the founder of CAUSE (Coalition to Alleviate Unfair Situations in Existence) which is an inmate group. Both of these organizations were born in Baltimore City Jail, where I have been currently awaiting trial for 13 months.

Your paper can, I am sure, enhance my knowledge and the knowledge of my comrades and render us better equipped to cope with and improve our subhuman environment.

*A prisoner
Baltimore, Md.*

Martin Sostre

This marks the sixth year of imprisonment on admittedly framed-up charges for Martin Sostre. During the past six years of his 41-year sentence he has endured incredible sufferings, including many beatings by guards. The State of New York has indicated that the end is not in sight, for he has been indicted on three counts of second-degree assault, which could lead to a sentence of life imprisonment.

The latest beating occurred July 6, when Sostre was taken to Plattsburgh, N. Y., for arraignment on the phony charge of assaulting prison guards. It was Sostre himself who was assaulted by seven guards May 19, when he refused to submit to a rectal examination as part of a "strip search." Thus the victim is charged with the crime!

Sostre has been held in solitary at Clinton for the past 10 months, during which time he has not been allowed a single visitor, not even his lawyers or a minister, because he refuses on Constitutional grounds to undergo the rectal search required by Clinton's sadistic guards before and after a visit.

Under the New York Penal Law, Sostre could be sentenced to life imprisonment as a "persistent felony offender" if convicted of assault on prison guards.

We urge that letters of protest be sent to Commissioner Peter Preiser, State Campus, Albany, N. Y. 12226.
*Martin Sostre Defense Committee
P. O. Box 839, Ellicott Station
Buffalo, N. Y. 14205*

The detente

Your articles on the detente have been most welcome. They point out excellently the selling out (or continuation of the selling out) policy of the Soviet Union.

In a recent issue of the *Daily World* they featured an article in which they explained that the meetings with Chief Butcher Nixon were forwarding the cause of socialism around the world!

The Militant's probing is great. You point out the hypocrisy of the CP's stand, and the Stalinists' betrayal of revolutionary socialism around the world.

*Scott Cooper
Ossining, N. Y.*

Groups in sympathy

More than 100 members and friends of the Iranian Students Association in the U. S. (ISA-US) attended a memorial meeting on July 13 at Columbia University to commemorate three ISA members who were recently killed in an automobile accident. The three were returning to Los Angeles from the ISA national convention in Chicago.

Some organizations friendly to the ISA brought messages of sympathy, including Ethiopian students in New York, the Worker-Student Coalition, the Attica Brigade, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The message from the Young Socialist Alliance, signed by Andrew Pulley, YSA national secretary, read as follows:

"The Young Socialist Alliance conveys to the Iranian Students Association our sympathy on the loss of your three young active members. We take this occasion to express to you our warm solidarity in the struggle against U. S. imperialism and its agent, the Shah of Iran."
*David Keil
New York*

Gainesville 8

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) has established a news bureau for the Gainesville 8—seven members and one supporter of our organization going on trial for conspiracy July 31 in Gainesville. The news bureau will also serve as headquarters for the national action VVAW/WSO will hold in support of the Gainesville 8 from July 31 to Aug. 4.

The demonstration is directed at trying to communicate to others our view of the trial and what we feel is a criminal conspiracy on the part of the Nixon administration to help "justify" the Watergate scandal with a frame-up of the Eight on bogus conspiracy charges of a "threat to national security." We feel that the evidence in the case clearly supports this tie-in to the Watergate cover-up. Demonstrations will include a series of marches, rallies, speeches, and guerrilla theater. A mass rally and march will culminate the action on August 4.

Our address is Gainesville 8 News Bureau, 307 S. E. 2nd St., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.
*Brian Adams
National Office, VVAW/WSO*



Leavenworth stops Militant

The officials here at Leavenworth find the pettiest forms to mess over us—so at first I thought they were merely short stopping my struggle newspapers from getting to me, as I've only received a couple of *Militants* during the last three and a half months.

But now I find out they are abusing their authority openly on just about everybody whenever they damn please. I just don't know who these sad forms of humans think they are. If the courts would hear our pleas according to law, instead of filing our petitions into the waste-basket, we'd be receiving our publications. But the law works one way, as it is so evident to us.

A prisoner
Leavenworth, Kans.

Runaway plants

An agreement has been reached between the United Auto Workers and the Huck Manufacturing Company in Detroit. When the company finally closes out its Detroit production facilities in September, it will pay a lump sum of \$150 for each year of seniority to those workers not entitled to retirement. Those who qualify for retirement will collect the money due them under the company retirement and health plans from a trust fund administered by the National Bank of Detroit.

The workers had been tranquilized by a long period of futile negotiations and had the feeling that nothing they could do would alter the situation. At the ratification meeting a secret vote to accept the severance agreement carried 158 to 19.

The "solution" to the broader problem of runaway plants, according to UAW officials, is through corrective legislation within the framework of the two-party system, relying upon the Democratic Party.

Workers listen to this with skepticism but are quiet. Reaction to the labor party idea is favorable at times and lukewarm at others. At the moment, most of the displaced Huck Company workers stand in a kind of political no-man's-land, confused, befuddled, dissatisfied.

I feel, however, that if the labor bureaucracy would make a break with the capitalist politicians and create a labor party, the new party would succeed. (Naturally, I do not expect these knuckleheads to show such initiative.) And within the unions there is no organized pressure for a labor party.

In the case of this severance agreement with Huck, it is probably as much as could be expected because the union officials had no retaliatory power against the company and had to go begging with hat in hand. A labor party would make laws to give workers greater control over the decisions of this and other runaway plants.

Fred Valle
Detroit, Mich.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Radical Chicanos & the UFW

The following is a guest column by Jose G. Perez. Perez is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and recently returned from Coachella, Calif., where he was covering the United Farm Workers Union strike for the Young Socialist newspaper.

While I was in California, I met a Chicano activist, a supporter of La Raza Unida Party, who questioned me about the Young Socialist Alliance's involvement in the defense of the United Farm Workers Union.

He pointed out that UFW leader César Chávez had supported Democrats many times in past elections, but had generally refused to endorse Raza Unida candidates. For this reason he felt that supporting the UFW should be downplayed and should not be a central focus of activity for revolutionary-minded Chicanos.

I disagreed. The UFW is a very important part of the Chicano movement, I explained. The attack by the growers threatens the very existence of the union and is an attack on the whole *movimiento*. An injury to one is an injury to all—a defeat for the UFW would also be a defeat for La Raza Unida. We all have a duty to defend the UFW, I told him.

If the growers and the government—with the help of the Teamster bureaucrats—are able to smash the UFW, I predicted, that would make it easier for them to attack other Chicano groups. It would weaken the movement, and it would tend to demoralize activists. This would hurt the more radical groups the most, since it is these groups that are most often subjected to attacks.

But, he objected, the liberals are already doing a lot to defend the UFW. We can't contribute that much anyway, and there are other, "more radical" issues we can take up.

It's true, I admitted, that the UFW has broad support among all kinds of people, including some Democrats and Republicans. But that's good! That doesn't make the question of defending the UFW any less important—or any less radical. The issues involved—the right of workers to unionize, the right of the *campesinos* to a decent life, to dignity and respect—are basic issues for all of La Raza and all working people.

Besides, I said, look at the opportunities this offers us. We talk a lot about *carnalismo* [brotherhood] but will anyone take us seriously if we don't practice what we preach? By being the most active defenders of the Farm Workers, the best builders of the boycott, we can show the many people who support the union that we are serious, that we mean what we say and we are willing to carry out what we say in action.

By participating in the struggle to defend the UFW we have a chance to win people to our ideas about the need for radical change, and about the need to build an independent Chicano party.

And last of all, when more radical groups come under attack, and we ask others to defend us, they will be more inclined to do so. They won't just say, "The revolutionaries want help for themselves, but where were they when the Farm Workers were under attack?"



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Organize the unorganized

This week's National Picket Line is a guest column by Eileen Berlow. Berlow is a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, and treasurer of the Cleveland Council of Union Women.

"Strike together, win together" is the slogan on the blackboard at strike headquarters of Cleveland Typographical Union Local 53. This local of the International Typographical Union (ITU) represents nearly 100 members, mostly women, at the *Telegraph*, a daily paper in Painesville, Ohio. They went on strike July 6 after rejecting a company offer that would perpetuate their very low wages.

Publisher Don Rowley is offering \$105 a week to reporters with a journalism degree, \$90 to other reporters, \$110 to circulation managers, and the federal minimum of \$1.60 an hour to all other employees.

This strike, unlike most others today, is called by workers who are trying to win union recognition. It is the culmination of an organizing drive by an old-line craft union, now organizing on an industrial-union basis. Workers from the editorial staff to the delivery drivers have signed up and are on the picket line.

There is another difference. The ITU undertook in this case to organize the workers, not the boss. Most craft unions—especially the building trades, but also the printing-trades unions when they attempt any organizing—go first to the boss and try to force him to sign a contract. If they succeed, they then supply workers through the union hiring halls. If those who are unorganized want jobs, they must apply for union membership.

These strikers signed up with the union first and intend to establish their own hiring system and job protection. They come into the union as full members and they bring their jobs with them.

These strikers are demanding \$160 a week for all reporters and photographers, with yearly increases. They are also demanding \$4.50 an hour for circulation managers, \$4 an hour for drivers, and \$2 an hour starting pay for the composing room, with increases every six months.

According to Barbara Schecter, one of the striking reporters, "They have this idea that the reporters are serving an apprenticeship here, so they don't have to pay us a decent salary." Because of the low salary scales, there has been a high turnover rate, which contributed to the problems of organizing.

Most of the strikers are young workers who have never been involved with a union before, but they are learning rapidly.

John Funk, one of the organizers of the strike, explained that the union had brought the workers together, breaking down the barriers between the different departments and within the departments. The strike, and the whole organizing campaign, could not have occurred if the typographical union had stuck to the narrow, craft outlook it has had for 100 years.

The Cleveland ITU made a decision a year ago to organize unorganized workers on an industrial basis, starting with the Rowley chain of eight newspapers. The outcome of the strike at the *Telegraph*, where the workers were the first to vote for the union, will have a large impact on the struggles in the other papers.

The strike has considerable support in the Painesville community. Many people have canceled their subscriptions to the paper, and circulation is down more than 50 percent. Twenty-five union leaders expressed solidarity with the strikers at a meeting at the strike headquarters July 11.

Other unions should follow the example of the Cleveland ITU and set out to organize the 70 million unorganized workers in this country.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Stoic—At a recent Yankee Stadium game, a note flashed on the scoreboard: "Welcome Tricia Nixon Cox and Edward Cox." According to AP it prompted "a ten-second outburst of boos and catcalls." Commented Edward to Tricia, "Well, you can't win them all." Not even with Big Daddy and the Plumbers?

Parting is such sweet sorrow—Bert Goodchild, a British worker, offered a brief, well-planned speech on receiving the traditional gold watch at a retirement party. "This is the happiest day of my life," he said, "because I won't have to come here again. I want no memories of this place. I've had enough. Conditions where I worked are disgraceful and I'm glad to be leaving."

Saves on matches—To help pipe smokers keep their tobacco dry on a rainy day, Dunhill's is offering a miniature umbrella that clips to the side of the bowl. Solid gold, \$835.

You better believe it—Reasserting the "infallibility" of the Catholic Church and the Pope "as the unalterable norm both for faith and theological science," the Vatican said those who fail to accept such infallibility will find themselves "outside the church."

The better to make dough—The feds will require that meatless pizzas processed for interstate sales contain a minimum of 12 percent cheese. The regulation will not apply to local products.

And not deliver the eulogy?—A new publication, *Obituary Quarterly*, will offer prominent personages the opportunity to write their own obits.

How humane can you get?—The U. S. Army will use synthetic fur for parka hoods, eliminating the need to kill

timber wolves for their pelts. Next they'll be putting felt tips on the H-bombs to soften the impact.

Or maybe both—"The public understands it has two alternatives: pay more or have less."—Clarence Adams, president, Nat'l Ass'n of Food Chains.



Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



CP reiterates anti-ERA stand

In the past few years widespread support has been won for the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. The ERA says, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied on account of sex." Thirty-eight states must ratify the ERA before it becomes law. So far, 30 states have done so.

The battle over the ERA has seen feminist organizations, most radical groups, and many trade unions, including the United Auto Workers, Communications Workers, Teamsters, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, calling for its passage.

Lining up against the ERA are reactionary groups such as the John Birch Society, the Catholic Church hierarchy, the Ku Klux Klan, and anti-feminist organizations such as "Happiness of Womanhood."

Also lining up against the ERA, however, are the Communist Party and some unions, following the lead of AFL-CIO President George Meany. Their argument is that the ERA would remove protective legislation from women workers and subject women to the draft.

But as the battle intensifies, and the lines are drawn more sharply, sections of the Communist

Party find their position embarrassing, as indeed they should.

In the March 31 issue of *People's World*, the West Coast CP newspaper, Judy Baston wrote an editorial entitled "New ERA strategy time." Baston notes that the CP strategy was "devised when it looked as if the ERA was going to pass relatively soon. . . . But now there is a new wrinkle. The defeat of the ERA in a number of states augurs badly for its passage nationally."

Baston puts her finger on where the anti-ERA forces are coming from. "No one should be fooled about what is happening now. These defeats in urban industrial states are not in response to labor pressure.

"These defeats are being engineered by ultra-Right groups."

Baston correctly points out that "defeat of the ERA as a result of the current campaign would be a victory for the most extreme forces of the ultra-Right—and a defeat for women in general."

Then Baston appeals to the CP leadership to reconsider its position. "This calls for a new strategy," she writes, "and perhaps a temporary regrouping of forces for the current battle."

But no such luck. The National Women's Com-

mission of the Communist Party answered Baston with a strong reiteration of their opposition to the ERA in the June 9 *Daily World*.

In a demagogic article entitled "What we need is a Bill of Rights for Women," the CP calls on the union movement and those interested in women's equality to "oppose the ERA in its present form."

They use the protective laws as an excuse. But then even they admit that capitalism "deliberately and illegally uses protective legislation as an excuse to discriminate against women." So we could do without those so-called protective laws that discriminate against women, and they are certainly a poor excuse for opposing the ERA.

There are, however, some protective laws that do benefit women. But instead of telling women they will have to "sacrifice" those benefits in return for the ERA, the CP should be calling on the union and feminist movements to fight to extend the truly beneficial laws to men as well.

Judy Baston is right when she points out that a defeat of the ERA "will not only negate those specific tangibles the ERA would bring about; it would reinforce both the ideology and practice of male supremacy in the U. S."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique

"In Mozambique, soldiers are everywhere. . . . The plainclothes police, and their informers, are everywhere too, and the movements of citizens and strangers are carefully watched. . . .

"Only one non-Government group can move freely into and around the remote areas—missionaries and priests. . . ."

This was the picture described by journalist Peter Niesewand in the July 14 *Manchester Guardian*. He was commenting on reports of Portuguese massacres revealed by Spanish and Portuguese priests who were missionaries in Mozambique.

Niesewand wrote that even Rhodesian troops who back the Portuguese in Mozambique are worried over Portuguese tactics there. White South Africans are worried too.

Last week, Father Adrian Hastings disclosed a report in London given to him by several Spanish missionaries who feared revealing it in Spain. It tells of the slaughter at Wiriyamu village in December 1972 where some 400 people were slaughtered by Portuguese troops.

The report, parts of which were printed in the July 14 *Manchester Guardian*, reads: "Following

a bombardment, soldiers who had been transported by helicopter invaded it with ferocity, began ransacking the huts, and the massacre of the people followed immediately." The villagers were forced to sit in a large group and were then selectively shot.

The *Manchester Guardian* states, "The report refers to a woman who was shot. Her child fell with her, crying. A soldier kicked the boy violently, destroying his head, and saying 'Shut up, dog.' The prostrate child cried no more and the soldier returned with his boot covered with blood." Other soldiers applauded him saying, "Well done, you are a brave man."

During the pillage, some soldiers confronted a pregnant woman, demanding to know the sex of her child. When she replied, "I don't know," they slashed open her stomach and tore out the fetus. "Look, now you know," they said, and set her afire.

The priests report that the Wiriyamu massacre is not an isolated event but a common occurrence. A Portuguese priest has revealed other atrocities.

Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano was greeted with demonstrations when he visited England

in mid-July. He denied the slaughter but promised an "inquiry."

Amidst this outcry over Portuguese atrocities, news came in of the court-martial of a Black GI in West Germany. Private Larry Johnson was tried for insubordination, but he feels this was an attempt to bully him into silence. He had been speaking out about U. S. Army training of Portuguese soldiers at U. S. bases in West Germany.

Assigned to Army intelligence, he had uncovered classified information documenting the extent of the U. S. Army's support to Portugal's war effort. Army officials deny they are training the Portuguese at West German bases, but it is well known that the Army has trained Portuguese soldiers at Fort Bragg in North Carolina. According to a member of Congressman Charles Diggs's subcommittee on Africa, "The Defense Department has admitted that it was spending \$1-million a year to train Portuguese soldiers in the United States."

This information, coupled with the priests' revelations, serve to underline the importance of our task of protesting all U. S. economic and military aid to Portugal.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

AUGUST 3, 1973

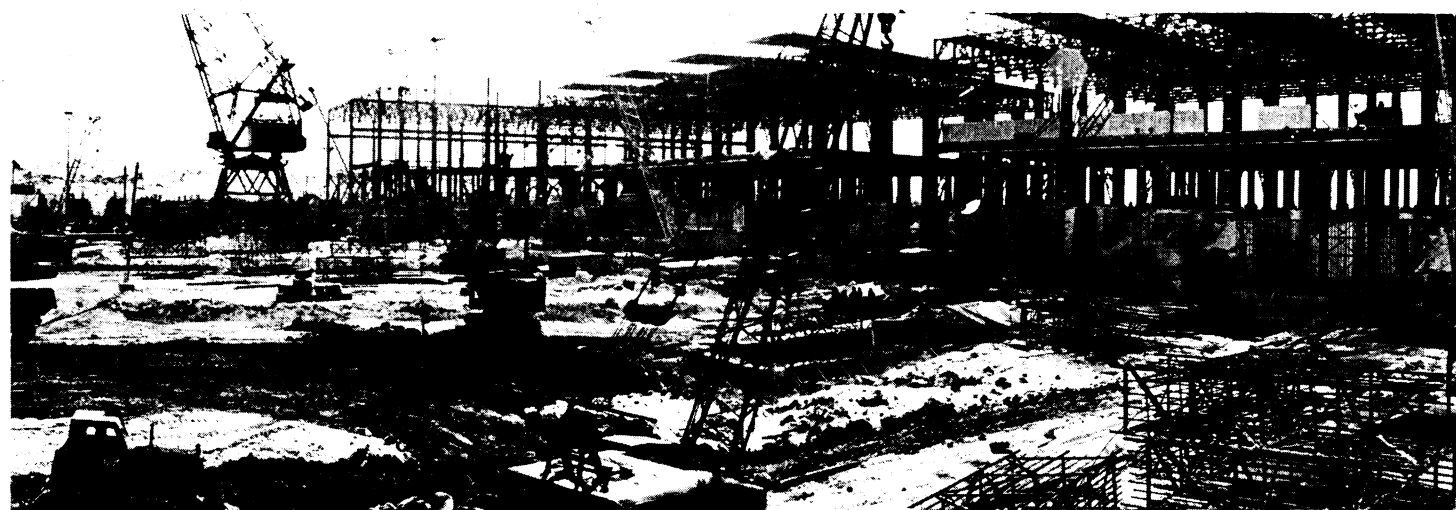
Behind the expansion of Soviet-U.S. trade

By Dick Roberts

U.S. corporations and the Soviet government are in the process of negotiating the largest commercial ventures ever undertaken by private industry or public agencies. These are two projects to pipe thousands of millions of cubic feet of natural gas from the fields of eastern and western Siberia to the Soviet ports of Murmansk and Nakhodka, respectively, where the gas will then be shipped to the east and west coasts of the United States.

The Yakutsk-Nakhodka project, involving the Occidental Petroleum Corporation and the El Paso Natural Gas Company, is already at the "agreement of intent" stage. It will include investments of \$10 thousand million and covers twenty-five years of construction and delivery. If fully exploited, the mammoth Siberian oil fields will produce per day twice the

average daily consumption of gas in New York state. These are the largest of more than 1,000 joint manufacturing or production agreements now existing between the capitalist West and the workers states of the East. New York's two largest banks, the First National City Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank — two of the central pillars of world imperialism — are opening branches in Moscow. This most illustrates the striking turn in economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union that has developed in the last two years.



Kama River truck complex in Soviet Union. West German group won \$125 million contract for it.

What is the planned and potential scope of the new "partnership"? What are Washington's objectives? To answer these questions it is helpful to glance at the background of the economic turn. The relaxation of the Cold War embargo on imperialist trade with and investment in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe did not begin in the United States, nor is it only a few years old. It began in Western Europe more than a decade ago.

From Togliatti to the Kama River

Trade relations between Western and Eastern Europe gradually opened up in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Even with the barbed wire around West Berlin, trade mounted between the two Germanies, from \$560 million in 1961 to \$1,600 million in 1971, so that West Germany became East Germany's biggest trading partner next to the Soviet Union. But this was relatively unpublicized until recently.

The first major breakthrough of Western capital into the Soviet market

Moscow into a large industrial center.

The giant sums of money required for such projects are raised by banking syndicates in combination with governments. Credit is advanced to Moscow on a long-term, fixed-interest-rate basis. Italy itself provided credits of \$322 million for the Fiat venture. The loan is to be repaid by Moscow at 5.5 percent over fourteen years.

In December 1969 a second large-scale Italo-Soviet agreement was projected, whereby Italy would be supplied with 100 thousand million cubic meters of Russian gas over a period of twenty years. The purchaser is ENI, the big Italian oil firm. This would run to about \$3 thousand million. But at the time the agreement was announced, it provided for "only" \$200 million worth of purchases of Italian machinery over five years at 6 percent interest. (See the British *Financial Times*, December 11, 1969.)

Parallel to these developments Japan had begun regular commercial trading with the Soviet Union and also was conducting periodic high-level meetings to explore the possibility of opening up the Siberian gas fields. Between 1960 and 1970 trade between Japan and all of the Eastern workers states had climbed sharply. Eastern exports to Japan rose from \$110 million to \$750 million, an increase of 582 percent; Japanese exports to Eastern countries rose from \$75 million to \$1,040 million, an increase of 1,287 percent.

States entered the picture in 1972 that joint U.S.-Japanese projects in Siberia were announced. The extent of Japan's participation, undoubtedly small by comparison to that of the United States, has not been made clear. (See *New York Times*, October 30, 1972.)

Meanwhile in 1969 the West German firm of Mannesmann in Düsseldorf had agreed to supply the Soviet Union \$598 million worth of pipe to be repaid in gas shipments to Austria and Germany over a twenty-year period. The smell of the multimillion and sometimes multibillion dollar contracts reached Detroit. In April 1970 Henry Ford 2d, inheritor of one of the capitalist world's gigantic fortunes, went to Moscow.

Ford was accorded the diplomatic treatment usually offered heads of state. He was asked to build a trucking complex at Naberezhnye Chelny, 550 miles east of Moscow on the Kama River. It would be the largest truck plant in the world, with a planned output of 150,000 eight-ton trucks a year by 1974. The price would be several thousand million dollars and the British, French, and West German capitalists had already been forced to turn down the offer. Ford said he would think it over.

One month later the project was scotched by Washington. In May 1970, after all, U.S. imperialism was at war in Southeast Asia with one of Moscow's allies. The USSR was shipping weapons to Hanoi, as U.S. war secretary Melvin Laird pointed out to Ford. Washington chose to keep the bait of economic aid dangling in Moscow's eyes for two more years, in the meantime insisting that other aspects of the détente ought to be agreed upon first.

Think-Tanking on It

Momentum in the United States to change U.S. economic policy towards the Soviet Union began to pick up in 1969-70, undoubtedly as a result of the recession and the balance of payments crisis. But significant moves on this front did not take place until 1971-72. By that time the prestigious Committee for Economic Development (CED) had reversed its earlier position of only lukewarm support for trade with workers states. In September 1972, the CED released a statement entitled "A New Trade Policy Toward Communist Countries."

It is worth taking a closer look at this authoritative document. The CED is a unique think-tank in that its board of trustees consists exclusively of the directors of the most powerful U.S. corporations. For example, the present CED chairman is Emilio G. Collado, executive vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey; two of its five vice-chairmen are Fred J. Borch, head of General Electric, and John D. Harper, chairman of the Aluminum Company of America. Just these three men bring together the Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, and Mellon sec-

Continued on following page

itself was Moscow's May 1966 agreement to allow the Fiat corporation of Italy to build an \$887 million auto plant in the Ukraine. Constructed in the river city of Stavropol-on-the-Volga (renamed "Togliatti" to suit the occasion), this gigantic plant was scheduled to produce about 2,000 medium-sized cars a day by 1972 (the Fiat 124 modified for Soviet weather conditions).

Large-scale operations are one of the typical features of the new "co-production." When completed, the Togliatti plant will raise Soviet car output from roughly 200,000 autos a year to 700,000-800,000. The plant will employ 70,000 workers, turning the old river city 500 miles east of

The trade between the USSR and Japan in 1968 exceeded \$500 million, and it typified the exchange of Western technology for Soviet raw materials. Japan supplied the USSR with iron and steel, tractors, construction machinery, scientific instruments and machines, lumber, and heavy electrical equipment and home electrical appliances. Soviet exports to Japan included 2.7 million metric tons of coal, 2,764,000 metric tons of oil and oil products, 1,224,000 tons of ferrous ores and almost 6 million tons of timber.

But Japan hesitated to supply the large-scale credits asked by Moscow to develop the Siberian natural gas reserves. It was not until the United

'...we might as well have a pie

Continued from preceding page
tors of U. S. finance capital.

The CED stressed the edge that the imperialist rivals of the United States had already gained in trade with the workers states: "Trade with the East of most other Western industrialized countries," it said, "though a small proportion of their total trade, was relatively much greater than that of the United States. For example, in 1971, the trade of the six European Community (EC) members with the East (which included exports of U. S. manufacturing subsidiaries operating in the Community) was more than ten times as great as that of the United States, and the trade of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) was almost six times larger."

CED sharply criticized both business and trade-union officials for opposing trade with the "Communist" bloc: "... the maintenance of restrictions by the United States is a gesture in futility since other trading nations have relaxed their restrictions. ... American business firms and their foreign subsidiaries have been deprived of numerous export opportunities. These have been seized by European and Japanese business competitors."

While strongly recommending removal of restriction on exports to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China, the CED specifically noted, "There has been no change in the restrictions and embargo on North Korea, North Vietnam or Cuba." Furthermore it recommended that "the export control chapter of U. S. history should not be treated as closed."

In its own terminology the CED emphasized the main advantage that the U. S. capitalists have in catching up with and overtaking their imperialist rivals: economic clout. "The most important factor affecting the U. S. trade potential in Eastern countries may well be the extent to which there is complementarity between the U. S. economy and the communist economies—taking into account not only comparative advantages in production but also geographical location and costs of transportation," the CED stated.

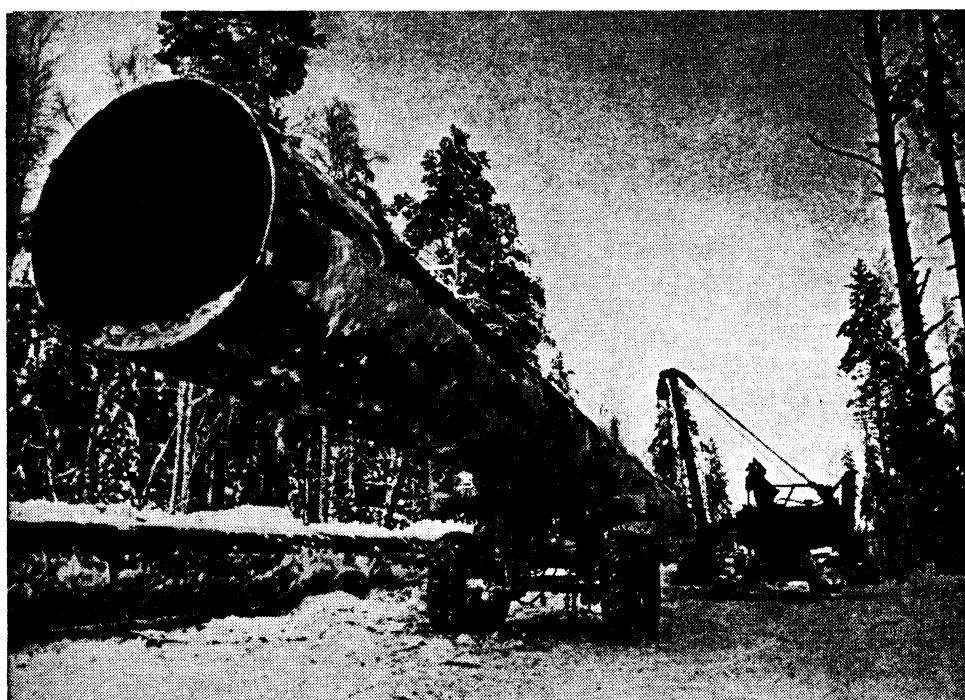
Nixon's New Economic Policy

In August 1971 the Nixon administration imposed a freeze on American wages, devalued the dollar, and escalated U. S. protectionist measures in world-trade warfare. The same factors that forced this drastic turn also forced the White House to reverse its policies on Soviet trade. In fact the new policies on Soviet trade were part of the New Economic Policy.

In November 1971, Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, and in April 1972, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, went to Moscow to return with optimistic predictions about the future of U. S. trade. The May 1972 Nixon-Brezhnev summit in Moscow, however, did not go beyond setting up a "Joint Commercial Commission" to negotiate further steps on trade. But since then, the final difficulties seem to have been clearing up. On May 30, Soviet State Planning Commission deputy chairman Mikhail Misnik told *New York Times* reporter

Theodore Shabad, "It's about time we moved beyond the Stone age practice of, say, bartering a sheep for half a camel. ... we advance beyond that stage into large-scale arrangements in which the United States would provide plant and equipment and we would pay with raw materials and the end products of such plants, then the possibilities are indeed immense."

"... Once we feel that there is serious interest in a joint venture, the problem of access can be overcome."



Pipe for natural gas being laid in Russia. Siberian pipelines now planned will cross some of the most difficult stretches ever attempted.

Western businessmen argue for *multilateral* trade relations based on credit. The big coproduction agreements are of this type. The Kama River truck plant that Ford had been cut out of, for example, was by 1971 being built under contracts with a number of firms. Renault is the main contractor for its machine tools. A £200 million British loan from the Exports Credit Guarantees Department backs up British participation in the project. The West German firm of Liebherr Verzahntechnik also has a \$125 million machine-tool contract in the Kama operations.

In the summer of 1972, Peter G. Peterson, by then U. S. Secretary of Commerce, attended the first meeting of the U. S.-USSR Commercial Commission. The "U. S. no longer has the monopoly it once enjoyed in the production of certain goods," Peterson once again warned. "The increased availability of high technology products elsewhere rendered some of our original curbs on exports to the Soviet Union increasingly anachronistic. The real loser from these particular restraints would have increasingly been the U. S. producer and worker, not the Soviet consumer or the Soviet economy. There comes a point at which we must face the fact that business is business, and, if it is going to go on in any event, we might as well have a piece of the action."

This came rapidly:

● On July 8, 1972, an agreement was reached providing credit through the U. S. Commodity Credit Corpora-

tion for Soviet purchases of U. S. grain, originally announced at \$750 million worth over a three-year period.

● On October 14 a maritime agreement was concluded that removed barriers to commercial shipping between the U. S. and USSR.

● On October 18 a settlement of the Soviet Lend-Lease debt was signed. "The Russians agreed to settle \$11.1 billion [milliard] in Lend-Lease debts for a total payment of \$722 million between now and July 2001,"

This scandalized the Nixon administration in the pre-Watergate period, because the Soviet grain deal, ultimately priced at more than \$1 thousand million, absorbed about one-fourth of the total U. S. crop. It drove the price of hard red winter wheat, the principal kind sold to the Soviet Union, from \$1.69 to \$2.49 per bushel. This is a significant factor in the politically explosive inflation of food prices rocking U. S. markets in the spring and summer of 1973. It also cost millions of dollars to small farmers who sold their wheat before the price rise, and it netted windfall profits to the futures speculators in Chicago who played their cards right.

All of these factors illustrate the big scale of U. S.-USSR trade agreements when measured against the business of particular corporations and particular industries: The grain deal opened up spectacular profits for the giant exporters involved; it included such a large sector of the U. S. grain industry that the government was forced to intervene to cover some losses sustained by American farmers; it affected food prices across the country; the immediate profiteers were directly represented at top government levels; and major U. S. competitors, in this case Canada and Australia, were cut out of profitable markets.

The CED report on trade already cited notes that "the Soviet Union which has imported U. S. wheat for some years, may also become a continuing market for corn and oilseeds not grown in adequate quantities there. China, which also is importing wheat (principally from Canada), may want to buy U. S. wheat in the future, since we have a wider range of qualities better adapted to Chinese requirements than does Canada."

Scramble for Raw Materials

Another important aspect of the opening East-West trade is the scramble of the imperialist powers for sources of energy and raw materials. This competition is itself an integral part of the intensified interimperialist competition generally, which underlies Nixon's New Economic Policy.

The United States cannot internally provide all the minerals and fuels that it consumes domestically. It draws on its global monopoly of resources in the underdeveloped world, and its importation of ores and fuels is increasing sharply from year to year. This increase simply indicates that the most advanced capitalist country must absorb additional external resources when domestic supplies are insufficient.

Yet this growing need of the imperialist superpower takes place under world economic conditions in which U. S. economic hegemony has been severely undermined. The dollar has been devalued twice and its value is still falling, causing the prices of imports to rise sharply. Certain of the neocolonial regimes in the underdeveloped world are succeeding in jacking up resource prices even more. And these factors take place as the imperialist rivals of the United States are extending their own power and in-

Newsweek magazine explained October 30. "In 27 years of sporadic bargaining since the end of World War II, Russia had never offered to repay more than \$300 million of the total bill. In return for the Lend-Lease settlement, the U. S. Export-Import Bank was authorized to extend credits and guarantees for the sale of goods to the Soviet Union."

● By this time there was also talk in the air of a multibillion-dollar deal for the U. S. development of Siberian natural gas.

Business for Minneapolis

The headquarters of the Cargill Grain Company is a World War I-style chateau in the wealthy western suburbs of Minneapolis, Minnesota. This giant firm with grain elevators throughout Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, and Montana ships grain abroad from its twelve terminals on both coasts the Gulf, and in Duluth, Chicago, Buffalo, and Albany. Of the roughly 11 million tons of wheat sold to the Soviet Union in 1972, Cargill's slice was about 2 million tons. Its even larger competitor, Continental Grain Company, picked up almost 5 million tons in the deal. The actual agreements were made secretly through the U. S. Agriculture Department. While they were being settled, a top aide of the Agriculture department, Clarence Palmby, quit his \$38,000-a-year government post to take a \$100,000-a-year job as an official of Continental Grain.

Soviet-U.S. trade ce of the action'

fluence in the Third World. The monopolistic necessity of controlling supplies, that is, keeping supplies out of the grasp of one's competitors, is all the more keenly felt by U.S. imperialism in its epoch of decline. This has caused U.S. businessmen to take a new look at the vast reserves of the Soviet Union.

"The natural resources of the Soviet Union are enormous," wrote Eugene Guccione, senior editor of *Engineering and Mining Journal*, in the July 1 *New York Times*. "They account for 57 per cent of the world's coal reserves, 40 per cent of the iron ore, at least one-third of all natural gas and oil and respectable percentages of the world's reserves in nonmetallic minerals.

"Most of these huge reserves, particularly those in Siberia and Kazakhstan, are almost untapped because of the Soviet shortage of development capital and technology."

Guccione emphasized the increasing U.S. need for minerals: "In May the United States Bureau of Mines reported that the vitality of the American economy during the next 25 years would depend on the country's ability to find, import, or both, an additional \$60-billion [milliard] worth of mineral resources.

"The \$1,200-billion American economy, like an inverted pyramid, rests on a foundation of some \$40-billion worth of minerals—of which \$10-billion are imported. By contrast, the 1971 Soviet mineral output amounted to some \$25-billion, of which \$3-billion were exported.

"The magnitude of potential deals with Russia can be grasped when considering that within the next 10 years the Soviet will expand its mineral-industry output to as much as \$60-billion or \$65-billion, of which \$20-billion to \$25-billion may be available for export," according to Alexander Sutulov, visiting professor of metallurgy at the University of Utah."

Other aspects of the changing circumstances were added by *The Economist* in its January 6, 1973, survey of "East-West Trade": "The prices of fuel and ores have only recently risen to levels which would justify the cost of exploration and extraction from the fastnesses of east and northern

Russia," *The Economist* said. "Russian minerals were never fully believed in until space satellites were launched which could spot them better. But even if they had been, it would still have cost too much to dig them out of the ground for use in the west. In this respect, Russia's activities in the Middle East have a unique and surprising bearing on east-west trade. Russia has not won what it was originally aiming for by its meddling in the Middle East and the Gulf. Political changes in that part of the world have not all gone Russia's way. But, instead, Russia has got perhaps an even more useful gain, namely a jump in the cost of energy which at last makes Russia's own oil and gas worth exploring.

"For the west it is not just a matter of the price of energy and ores but also of security of supply. Only in the past 10 years has consumption of fuel and minerals, notably copper, nickel, chrome, reached a scale in the west when the need to multiply sources of supply, almost regardless of price, has become an end in itself. The ironical result of this for the west is that the forthcoming addition of an ideological foe to its list of suppliers will add up to a net increase in the security of its supply."

The irony is really twofold. It was political considerations, above all the necessity for U.S. imperialism to contain the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, that attracted President Nixon to Moscow. On the way to this forum the imperialists discovered that Moscow would not only stab the colonial revolution in the back, it would undersell the colonies on the world market.

Project North Star

Second only to the struggle for control of world resources of petroleum, the struggle for natural gas stands at the epicenter of imperialist policy. A relatively new feature of this is the global operations of U.S. pipeline companies aimed at opening the U.S. market to imported liquefied natural gas (LNG) in order to produce synthetic gas from imported oil (SNG). *Business Week* reported April 21: "... the pipeline companies are proceeding with plans to build 30 SNG plants, some costing as much as \$300-million. By 1985, there could be \$5-billion [milliard] worth of these plants in the U.S. ... El Paso Natural Gas Co. ... won approval last year to import 1-billion cu. ft. of LNG a day from Algeria for the next 25 years. The project calls for \$1.7-billion in capital investment for liquefaction plants in Algeria, gasification plants in the U.S., and nine LNG tankers. ... The project would surely help revive American shipbuilding: Some of the pipeline companies estimate that by 1985 LNG ships could import as much as 5-trillion [million million] cu. ft. of gas a year, about one-fifth of the country's annual gas consumption. That would require some 100 LNG tankers."

The two natural gas projects in Siberia dwarf even these figures. The



Nixon discussing economic deals with Soviet trade minister Nikolai Patolichev, May 1972.

arger of the two would pipe gas from Urengoy on the Western Siberian plain to Murmansk. From there it would be shipped to the U.S. East Coast. John P. Hardt, senior specialist in Soviet economics at the U.S. Library of Congress, described the project in the May-June issue of *Problems of Communism*:

"According to the US firms negotiating with the Soviet Union—Tenneco, Inc., Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation, and Brown & Root, Inc.—a credit of 3 billion dollars (US) and an additional 700 million in cash provided by the USSR would finance purchase of American-made transmission equipment (compressors and 1,500 miles of 48-inch steel pipe capable of withstanding temperatures of minus 60 degrees Fahrenheit) and construction of a plant at the ice-free port of Murmansk to liquify the gas for shipment to the east coast of the United States. The US credits would consist of a 6-percent loan of 1.5 billion dollars from the Export-Import Bank and a loan of equal amount from various US banks, insurance companies and suppliers, the latter guaranteed by the Export-Import Bank. In addition, the American partners would build 20 specialized LNG ... tankers at an added cost of 2.6 billion dollars. The USSR would repay the credits and earn an additional 10.8 billion dollars (which could only be spent in the US) by deliveries of gas over a 25-year period beginning in 1980."

It takes us into the twenty-first century. All that is needed is the survival of world imperialism and the bureaucratic misleaderships of the workers states.

The Economist in its January survey indelicately pointed to the importance of bureaucratic rule to the whole scheme: "The reasons for industrial cooperation go beyond being a mere 'licence to export money,'" said the British magazine. "Though the ratio of capital to labour has risen in the east as in the west, labour still remains cheaper in the east than in the west. Even better, it is virtually strike-free."

Is This 'Convergence'?

It is a popular social-democratic notion that over the course of time the capitalist system and the "Communist bloc" will "converge" peacefully toward the same type of economy. Nothing like this is involved in the trade and investment now envisioned between the capitalist countries and the workers states.

Even taking into account all the long-range multi-billion-dollar projects, the total sums are very small compared to the economies of the nations. "The economic advantages of

Soviet-U.S. economic relations are likely to be significant in particular sectors, rather than for the national economy as a whole," John P. Hardt and George D. Holliday of the Library of Congress write in a June 1973 report of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. "Grain traders and petroleum companies," they continue, "may benefit, but the overall effect on the national economy will be modest."

"U.S. trade with the Soviet Union represented less than 1 percent of total U.S. foreign trade in 1971. In 1972, trade turnover increased substantially. However, if U.S.-Soviet trade should increase in eight years to \$3 billion—a remarkable attainment—it would still be only about 2 percent of U.S. foreign trade. Currently, the United States imports as much in a week from Canada as it imports in a year from the Soviet Union. As a result, a major relative change or increase in trade with the Soviet Union could be offset by a relatively minor change in U.S. trade relations with its major trading partners. . . .

"Furthermore, the U.S. trade and balance-of-payments deficits will probably not be substantially reduced by increased Soviet trade. Although the United States is likely to have considerable surpluses in its trade with the Soviet Union, they will be small in comparison with U.S. deficits."

Only a drastic restructuring of the Soviet economy along capitalist lines could open up its market to such amounts of goods and capital as to modify the conclusions of this Congressional report. Of course, the imperialists would like nothing better. "The presence of many American citizens in the Soviet Union with some decision-making power and a wider exchange of ideas may in the long run contribute to a moderation of the Soviet political control system and command economy," Hardt and Holliday speculate. "... there is at least a possibility that the process of integrating the centrally planned Soviet economy into the market economy of the United States and the rest of the non-Communist world might unleash irreversible forces of constructive change which could, in turn, contribute toward international interdependence and stability," the Library of Congress economists add.

But if they looked around their stacks they would not find any previous example in history where one social system was replaced by another merely by the presence of a few foreigners and their wares. That takes wars—either revolutionary or counterrevolutionary. At this point one of the ground rules of the détente is "peaceful coexistence." □



Soviet workmen laying a road over swampland. Inaccessibility of raw materials has been a major problem for the USSR.

Same approach in 1955 as today

Peron's history one of holding back the masses

[The following article was published in the June 20-27 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Many compañeros might be surprised that we are casting a pall over their joy at the return of Perón by recalling the way he fell from office eighteen years ago.

But the fact is that the two periods are identical in two ways: not only as far as the dates are concerned [Perón's downfall began in June 1955; he returned on June 20, 1973], but also with regard to the statements and appeals for harmony, peacefulness, and negotiation with the "opposition" parties of the oligarchy and imperialism.

On June 16, 1955, the Peronist movement began to lose control of the government, and it was removed three months later. The speeches of Perón at the time are very similar to those that Cámpora is making today, or to the statement of the Movimiento Nacional Justicialista [Justicialist National Movement, the Peronist movement] against the occupations. Then as now, the Peronists wanted to negotiate with the oligarchy and imperialism, and in order to do this, they tried to put a brake on the struggle of the workers. Eighteen years ago this policy led to the fall of Perón and, subsequently, to the fierce revenge of the bosses and imperialism against the workers and the country. Now this same policy could lead to a similar disaster, although the Cámpora government does not realize it.

June 16

Since 1952 the Argentine economy had been in a process of serious deterioration. The period of the "fat kine" [time of plenty] had ended with the end of the world war, and with it our country's privileged situation as a producer of food products. It could then be seen that the six years of Peronist rule had not revolutionized the country but had only improved the situation of the workers thanks to favorable circumstances brought on by the war.

In 1952 the bosses began their campaign to take back part of what they had given up during the preceding years. In order to accomplish this, they began to pressure the government, as well as conspire against it.

Perón partially gave in to this pressure, as can be seen in the fact that real wages decreased by more than 20 percent between 1948 and 1954.

On the other hand, North American imperialism launched an assault on the country. Here, too, the government began to give in. In 1950, Cereijo traveled to the United States and, after drawn-out negotiations, obtained a loan of almost \$100 million. In exchange, a law was signed on foreign investments that allowed North American firms—none of which were nationalized under Peronist rule—to take out of Argentina up to 5 percent of their recorded capital annually; negotiations also began on granting

Standard Oil drilling rights in Santa Cruz.

But imperialism wanted much more than these concessions. And so it is that while it was negotiating with Perón, as well as with the bosses, it was also laying the groundwork for the military coup.

The great ally of the bosses and imperialism was the church. The priests, with their support from the middle class—which was bitter over the economic situation and traditionally opposed Perón because of the dictatorial nature of his government—organized street demonstrations and declared political war. The army,



Peron feared the mobilization of the masses more than his own overthrow.

navy, and air force began to seethe with ferment about a possible coup.

It was in these circumstances that a sector of the navy rose up on June 16, 1955, and took over Ezeiza [airport], the Naval Machine School, and the naval yards. Some of the insurgent troops posted themselves in front of the government house. At noon, three Glenn Martin and Catalina airplanes flew over the Plaza de Mayo and bombed it. One bomb fell right on the government house. Another exploded on a trolley bus full of passengers; it turned onto its side, dumping its load of wounded and dead onto the pavement.

There were repeated air attacks. The last one came at 6:00 p.m., but the rebels, who did not win the support of the other branches of the armed forces, were repressed. Thirty-eight airplanes left for Uruguay; on board one of them was one of the civilian chiefs of the whole motley crew, the Radical Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz.

In spite of the fact that the coup was defeated militarily, it was a complete triumph politically. The govern-

ment came out of it weakened, while the number of its opponents had grown: All the opposing forces needed to do was better coordinate their social, political, and military forces. The navy attempt failed because it reflected exclusively those interests favoring a coup who were the most pro-Yankee, and they attempted to go it alone.

Perón's response to the coup completely disarmed the workers and prevented any possibility of the workers defending themselves. In place of appealing to them and their organization to struggle—even though they were the only national sector that was prepared to lay it on the line for Perón—he made his famous "pacification" speech. In the name of this concept, he permitted the forces of reaction to commit the worst outrages.

In fact, on June 16 itself, Perón spoke in order to praise the army and to say that, thanks to it, the situation had been saved: "All the generals of the republic, the commanding officers, officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers have demonstrated that they can brilliantly carry out their duty. . . ."

Who were these generals? Aramburu, Lagos, Videla Balaguer, Uranga, Bengoa, to name a few. Precisely the same ones who three months later overthrew him.

Perón called for faith in the executioners. And not only this, but he called for people to remain calm, not to get organized, not to defend themselves. Following Perón spoke Di Pietro, assistant secretary of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor], who said the following: ". . . the CGT strongly urges all the workers . . . to keep the necessary calm, and to do this in the venerated memory of Eva Perón. . . . I want to render our emotion-filled homage to the glorious Argentine army, which, by merging with the people, has defended it like a great man protecting a child. . . ."

And just so that there can be no doubt that the workers, rather than organize for struggle, had to passively place their faith in the military, the "saviors of the homeland," Di Pietro then read the following resolution: "The CGT has prepared a general stoppage of all activity tomorrow as a

sign of grief. This strike, compañeros, must be quietly observed in our own homes. . . ."

A sector of the Peronist movement itself, together with worker and revolutionary militants, ignored this pacification order. They went out into the streets to demonstrate, and this resulted in churches being set on fire.

Then Perón accused the "Communists." (Now the reference is to "Trotskists," but the purpose is the same.) On June 19 [1955], Perón, while speaking to the staff of the union bureaucracy in the CGT, made accusations against the "Communists," called for "more and better work," and again praised the army. A few days later, he offered all the parties radio time and newspaper space to state their positions and to begin a dialogue aimed at reaching an agreement with them.

Three Months Later, the Fall

Thanks to the paralysis of the workers, who were held back by the union bureaucracy on orders from Perón, the anti-Perón forces continued to grow stronger and stronger. The plotting was done openly, and the only response of the Peronist movement was to increasingly praise the army that was to overthrow it.

From that point on, the collapse was very simple. Perón, in spite of the backing of the working class, fell from power in a pitiful fashion.

At the end of August, Perón made his last "peace offer"—his resignation in return for negotiations. The opposition ignored it: It wanted to completely destroy him. A few days later it happened.

For a few days, beginning September 16, sectors of the military in the interior rebelled. They were relatively small forces, but the government was paralyzed. The last measure it took was to decree a curfew; that is, it placed a ban on the workers themselves taking to the streets to struggle and defend themselves. Perón wanted to work everything out between the top political and military cliques. From that point on, no settlement was possible. And thus began the new, "liberated" era. □

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Congressional sleight of hand

Is 'war powers act' safeguard for peace?

By DICK ROBERTS

The "War Powers Act" passed by both houses of the U. S. Congress in July has been described by its supporters as historic. It will, they claim, reassert the authority of Congress over the White House that was supposed to have been "usurped" by the presidency during the war in Vietnam.

In fact the bill, more strongly worded in the Senate version than the House, does nothing of the kind. If it is made into law, it will merely serve to give legal cover for the war-making decisions of the executive branch. Senator William Hathaway (D-Maine) was telling the truth when he declared on the Senate floor July 18, "the purpose of this bill should not be seen as an effort to limit the Executive power, but an effort to legitimize that power when it is used to deal with the emergency situations that can arise in our modern world of rockets, bombs, and nuclear warfare." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 13875.)

In effect, the Senate bill sets a 30-day limit (the limit is 120 days in the House version) on the president's commitment of armed forces without congressional approval. The reality is that such a limitation is no limitation at all.

Senator Sam Ervin (D-N. C.), who support Senator Barry Goldwater's attack on the bill and voted against it along with other Dixiecrats and right-wing Republicans, pointed to the impossibility of a situation arising in which the president has launched a major war and Congress votes against it:

"This measure is an absurdity. It says that when the United States is invaded, Armed Forces of the United States must get out of the fight against an invader at the end of 30 days if the Congress does not take affirmative action within that time to authorize the President to continue to employ the Armed Forces to resist the invasion.

"The bill is not only unconstitutional, but is also impractical of operation. In short, it is an absurdity. Under it, the President must convert Old Glory into a white flag within 30 days if Congress does not expressly authorize him to perform the duty the Constitution imposes on him to protect the Nation against invasion."

The senators like to quote the Constitution, and in this debate they referred at length to the arguments of the con-

making powers to the public forum of the Congress.

Antiwar sentiment

And Congress, it must be recalled, had little objection to this process. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution, overwhelmingly passed in 1965, stated: "The United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the

the war powers of the White House. But the "War Powers Act" is another "compromise."

A sole voice in the Senate spoke out against its hypocrisy, that of South Dakota Democrat James Abourezk. The bill empowers the president to repel armed attacks upon U. S. armed forces abroad. The president "claims the right to place American troops wherever it pleases him," Abourezk pointed out. "We now have some 2,000 bases or military detachments located in the far corners of the world. By giving the President the power to defend each of them, without congressional consideration of the location and wisdom of their placement, we are simply empowering Presidents to locate troops in such a manner as to provoke attacks to justify Presidential warmaking.

"This Nation is not ignorant of such practices. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution resulted from an incident off the coast of North Vietnam which may have been provoked, indeed it may have been manufactured, in order to justify the bombing of North Vietnam."

Abourezk continued, "The dangers of this provision are manifested by our recent experiences in Indochina. . . . Let us look at Cambodia. After thousands of secret B-52 bombing missions for 3 or 4 years, the President, citing 'secret' or 'classified' reports notified the American people that it was necessary to invade the country to avoid an imminent threat of an attack on American forces in Vietnam.

"The attack enmeshed this Nation in the defense of a corrupt junta fighting against its own people. This is exactly what occurred in 1970. The only difference made by the war powers bill is that, in the future, a President will be able to tell the American public that he has explicit congressional authorization to engage in such an attack. . . ."



Destruction of Cambodia would not be halted by new 'war powers act'

stitutional convention, the writings in the Federalist Papers, etc. But the concentration of war-making power in the executive branch is only remotely connected with these debates of 200 years ago.

This concentration is primarily dictated by the global needs of U. S. imperialism today. The U. S. ruling class maintains an arsenal of the most advanced weapons of modern warfare in order to defend and extend its worldwide investments. Given the need for secrecy in carrying out the hated military acts of counterrevolution, the U. S. rulers can less and less entrust war-

use of armed force."

Only when millions of Americans began to oppose the war and huge pressure built up, did moves arise in Congress to limit the administration's war powers. These were largely aimed at cooling public opposition, not at actually curtailing executive power.

As recently as the Cambodia "compromise" vote in May 1973, Congress chose not to challenge Nixon's authority to continue bombing that country. Under the escalating impact of Watergate, the representatives were under even greater pressure to limit

Nixon caught in more lies about Cambodia

By ED SMITH

"American policy since [1954] has been to scrupulously respect the neutrality of the Cambodian people," President Nixon said in 1970. It wasn't said in a private conversation recorded only on secret tapes. It was in a nationally televised policy address to the American people justifying the April 30, 1970, U. S. invasion of Cambodia. It was also a bold-face lie.

Nixon had ordered the U. S. Air Force to bomb Cambodia in secret for a year before the 1970 invasion. In all, 3,630 secret B-52 raids over Cambodia were carried out. They were cleared by the then-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Earle Wheeler, the then-Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, and the president.

Even such influential supporters of the U. S. military establishment as Senator John Stennis, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, were apparently kept in the dark. Barry Goldwater seems to have been one of the few elected officials the White House trusted with information about its Cambodia bombing policy.

The linkage of the secret Cambodia bombing to Watergate was spelled out by *New York Times* reporter Seymour Hersh July 23. "Just as the Nixon Administration's fears of dissent and 'enemies' led to secret wiretapping and other illegalities beginning in early

1969," said Hersh, ". . . so did fear of Congressional rejection lead to the carefully coordinated secret bombing campaign. . . ."

"The Watergate affair and the matter of secret bombing intersected directly on May 9, 1969, after The New York Times reported that B-52 raids were taking place in Cambodia. . . . the disclosure led to the institution of at least 17 wiretaps, many directly authorized by President Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger, his adviser on national security."

So Nixon and Kissinger ordered their bugs to be installed to see if they could detect who leaked information to the *Times* on the Cambodia bombing.

The Cambodian bombing affair once again illustrates the importance of secrecy in carrying out imperialist war policies. This bombing was concealed for a year to appease public antiwar sentiment, to keep Cambodian Prince Sihanouk off the hook in his public stance of neutrality, and to ease the pressure on Moscow and Peking to come to the defense of the revolution in Cambodia. (One can assume that both Moscow and Peking were well aware of this bombing through their connections with Phnompenh and Hanoi. But they remained silent.)

Meanwhile a former Air Force officer has revealed that he took part in the planned bombing of a National

Liberation Front hospital in South Vietnam in 1969. Former Captain Gerald Greven told Senator Harold Hughes that the deliberate attack on the hospital took place late in March or early in April 1969. This was after the secret bombing of Cambodia had started.

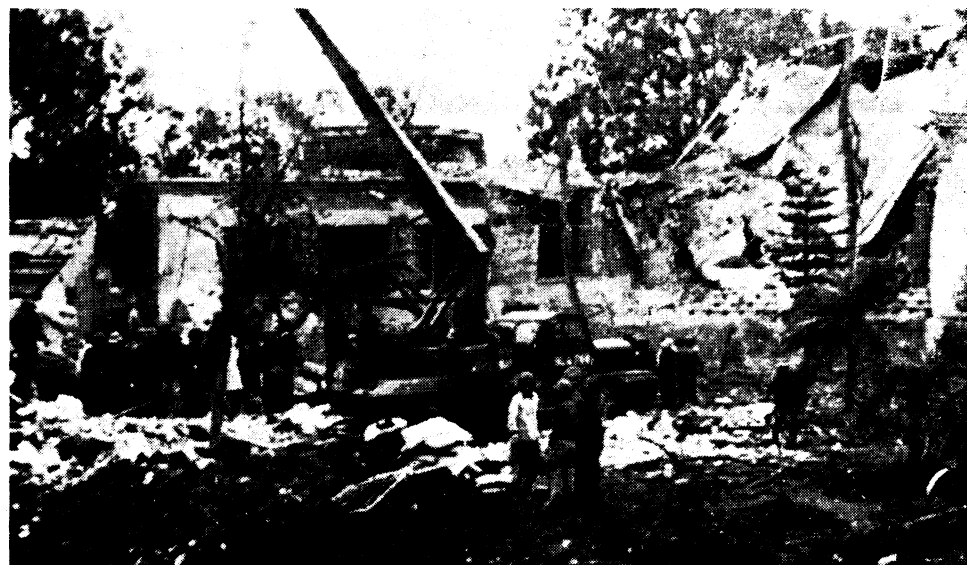
Greven explained, "There was so many things going on, people just took them for granted." In fact, he said, "There were so many things that weren't being reported that nothing seemed unusual."

Throughout the war the liberation fighters have reported deliberate U. S.

bombing of schools, hospitals, leper colonies, and other social and medical institutions. This has been as consistently denied by the Pentagon.

These liars even argued at one point in the war that the destruction of hospitals in North Vietnam may have been caused by Hanoi's anti-aircraft missiles falling back on its own hospitals!

The Pentagon, as could be expected, has denied Greven's charges categorically. But public denials from government officials in Washington don't cut much ice these days. Tens of millions of Americans know they're lying.



Hanoi's Bach Mai Hospital destroyed by B-52s. New revelations now prove it was official U. S. policy to bomb medical installations.

Soaring prices & threat of layoffs face auto workers as contract talks begin

By FRANK LOVELL

When the United Auto Workers opened formal negotiations with the auto industry in the Detroit offices of General Motors on July 16, GM Vice-president and chief negotiator George Morris said, "I sense an attitude of optimism on both sides that we'll be able to resolve the issues."

UAW President Leonard Woodcock shook Morris's hand and was likewise optimistic about a settlement before the three-year basic contracts covering about 800,000 workers in the Big Three auto producing companies expire Sept. 14.

This scene occurred two days before Nixon's announcement of Phase 4. The major price increases accompanying Phase 4 may bring to the fore issues that both sides had hoped would recede. One is improvement of

tual increase in take-home pay under the new contract will be considerably less, and spendable income may be less than it is now.

The reason UAW officials do not push for a big pay raise is their tacit acceptance of government wage controls, plus relative high wage scales in the profit-bloated auto industry and booming production with lots of overtime.

Last January industry executives publicly suggested that the present contracts simply be extended. They argued that the COLA wage escalator would keep wages abreast of advancing prices. At the time, Woodcock responded that the UAW was interested primarily in "humanizing the workplace," and that wages were a secondary issue.

Auto workers are often thought of by

that somehow the economy will right itself and inflation will be checked by government controls.

He apparently chose to overlook the official abandonment of all pretense to control prices on the most necessary single item in the working-class family budget—food. Nixon admitted with the announcement of Phase 4, "There is no way, with or without controls, to prevent a substantial rise of food prices."

Food prices in June went up at an annual rate of 24 percent.

Consumer Price Index

The present escalator clause in the UAW contract gears wages to the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Wages continue to escalate as long as prices continue to rise. In this respect, it is better than the cost-of-living clause in most

when the current contract was signed. They are working longer hours and producing more automobiles an hour.

Swollen profits

The auto companies, by contrast, have profited more than ever before in the history of the industry, and the rate of profit is rising faster than ever before. For the second quarter of 1973, American Motors showed a profit after taxes of \$16.5-million, a 345 percent gain over 1972; Chrysler took \$89.8-million, a 151 percent gain; Ford raked in \$360.7-million, up 43 percent over last year; and GM gouged a whopping \$816.9-million, up 26 percent.

Salaries and bonuses of corporate directors are commensurate with these swollen profits. The Big Three auto companies "awarded" executive bonuses of \$180.1-million in 1972, in addition to salaries.

It is small wonder that when representatives of these companies came to the bargaining tables this year to haggle over the \$5 hourly wage scale of auto workers they promised not to "plead poverty." However, GM bargainer George Morris mentioned the "danger of inflation" under an improved wage escalator clause. And a Ford official worried about the serious consequences of a recession when the current production boom ends.

Speedup & overtime

The demands of the UAW, as usual, are a long list of everything submitted by locals in the U.S. and Canada. Workers in the shops and factories are especially concerned over speedup and long hours of compulsory overtime. These two issues are closely connected.

If workers are free to turn down overtime without the fear of company reprisals, they can organize job actions that will disrupt company production schedules and force the company to revise some of its speedup plans.

This is why the auto companies have refused to budge on the compulsory overtime issue. They are seeking ways in the negotiations to grant "voluntary overtime" without giving up the weapons (disciplinary layoffs and firings) to enforce compliance with company production schedules.

The UAW officials are anxious to avoid any showdown on the basic questions. Woodcock tells UAW members that "we have to modernize that escalator clause so that we protect fully our purchasing power of the wages we negotiate."

But at the bargaining table this is limited to the demand that wages rise one cent per hour for each three-tenths of a point jump in the CPI. This would



UAW's Woodcock, left, shakes hands with GM's Morris as contract negotiations open in Detroit. Both sides expressed optimism that strike can be avoided, but industry's proposed wage settlement of 7 percent is not enough to protect auto workers from rising cost of living.

the inadequate UAW Cost-of-Living Adjustment (COLA) clause. Another is the need for job protection.

The first is designed to protect workers against inflation. The second relates to the danger of unemployment. These are issues that can change the present cozy relations at the top bargaining table.

Mutual understanding

The opening show of mutual trust and shared optimism was based on informal negotiations that have been going on since the first of the year. Both sides had reached an understanding on the "wage package" and were satisfied that the other questions of speedup, compulsory overtime, plant closures, discipline of workers, grievance procedure, production schedules, layoffs, job safety and health, and similar "management prerogatives" could be resolved to the satisfaction of the negotiating teams—if not the production workers who will have to live and labor under the new contracts.

There was, therefore, general agreement that a strike this year is unlikely.

One unnamed UAW official, when asked about the wage settlement by a *New York Times* reporter, said, "I can give you that now, around 7 percent. We've got to take the working condition issue and make a breakthrough there."

The 7 percent figure will be given out officially in September if everything goes according to plan. Woodcock will then claim another "unprecedented victory," or something like that. The ac-

those who don't work in auto plants to be better off than most other workers. The average wage of all UAW members is slightly above \$5 an hour, \$4.89 for production workers. This is more than \$1 an hour above the average \$145.13 U.S. weekly wage, including overtime. On the basis of a straight 40-hour week, this comes to only \$3.63 hourly. Millions of unorganized workers, and many who pay union dues, get less than \$3 an hour. The minimum wage is still only \$1.60.

Pressure of wage controls

Under pressure of government wage controls, UAW officials decided early in the informal stage of negotiations this time to stay within the wage-wringer guidelines of Phase 2. They accepted the "flexible" application of a 5.5 percent annual increase under Phase 3. And when the same formula was carried over in Nixon's Phase 4 on July 18, Woodcock promptly pronounced the government wage controls "acceptable," and said the UAW can "live with them."

Woodcock's reaction was undoubtedly conditioned in part by the acceptance earlier this year of low-wage guidelines in contracts for the electrical manufacturing, oil, rubber, railroad, and trucking industries. Each one of these contracts has a built-in time bomb that will be fused by rapidly rising prices.

Like other union officials who don't have the stomach for a head-on confrontation with the government and the corporations, Woodcock is hoping

union contracts, which are "capped." But under the present UAW formula of one cent an hour for every 0.4-point rise of CPI, wages travel at a snail's pace while prices bound ahead.

Over the three years of the present contract only 35 cents in COLA money has been added to the hourly wages of auto workers, and the total wages for production workers, the vast majority, is still below \$5.

The meager cost-of-living allowance amounts to less than 7 percent for three years. This is hardly enough to keep up with the present 8 percent annual rate of price increase as measured by the CPI, which distorts and minimizes the actual jump in living costs.

Auto workers are earning less in actual spendable income today than



Militant/Jon Britton

UAW members join other unionists in 1971 antiwar protest in New York. War spending is still a major cause of inflation.

be an improvement, but far from enough "to protect fully."

Threat of unemployment

The threat of unemployment is mentioned only when company executives refer to the danger of an economic downturn as a warning to UAW officials that wage demands ought to be modest for the present because lean times are ahead, a standard company argument.

It is generally recognized that Phase 4 means the Nixon administration is determined to try one more time to achieve "economic stabilization" by curtailing production and increasing unemployment to limit purchasing power and thus curb inflation. This will not end inflation, but it may throw more millions out of work.

Tens of thousands of auto workers have been through the cyclical depressions that hit this industry, and they know that the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit plan (SUB) fails to meet the needs of workers caught by long layoffs.

But the negotiators aren't putting forward the UAW demand for a shorter workweek—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. This demand is designed to protect auto workers against unemployment.

Wage negotiations in the auto industry as currently conducted are limited to the narrow outlook of the UAW officialdom. They are suited to the present juncture to the circumstances of the auto moguls and the economic policy of the capitalist government, but not to the needs of auto workers.

To defend the interests of the UAW membership, and set an example that would benefit all workers, the UAW negotiators ought to break the government-imposed low-wage guidelines and demand a national across-the-board wage hike for all workers to at least \$6 an hour to meet today's high prices.

With this basic wage as a floor, every hourly rated worker should be protected by an escalator clause. This means that the weekly wage would have to be adjusted to the price of those things that workers buy. This index would be quite a bit different from the government's CPI, which includes an average of all items, many of which rarely if ever appear in the weekly budget of working-class families.

Attack on all workers

The capitalists' policy of holding wages down while prices continue to skyrocket is aimed not only at one union, nor just at the 20-million-strong organized sector of the working class. It is an assault on all workers and hits hardest at the 70 million who are still unorganized. Especially vulnerable to this attack are Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and women workers.

To meet the problem of inflation, the union movement needs to press for guaranteed cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts, pensions and Social Security benefits, and for an end to war spending, which is a prime cause of inflation.

To fight against unemployment, the unions should fight for a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, and for a massive public works program at union wages to put the unemployed to work rebuilding this country.

None of this will be talked about at the GM or Ford or Chrysler bargaining sessions. But these basic problems of workers in the auto plants and other industries will be there nonetheless.

Eggs at \$1 a dozen

Why gov't can't stop inflation

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 22—Consumers across the country are being hit by an unbridled inflation of food prices as the Nixon administration's "Phase 4" goes into effect. The White House and the food industry are telling Americans there's nothing they can do about it.

"Here are some probable food prices a few weeks hence," John Prestbo of the *Wall Street Journal* wrote July 20:

"Bacon, \$2 a pound, up from \$1.40 now. Pork chops, \$2 a pound, up from \$1.50 now. Eggs, \$1 a dozen, up from 79 cents. Broiler chickens 75 to 80 cents a pound—or perhaps even \$1—up from 65 cents."

Although beef prices are supposed to be temporarily frozen, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz has already acknowledged that beef shortages could occur in the next two months, causing beef prices to rise even higher when

cent over the 12-month period.

That was when there weren't any controls. The food industry now declares that when there were controls they cut back production and this will cause prices to rise even more when the controls are lifted.

And the government says it cannot do anything about it. Treasury Secretary George Shultz attempted to joke about this when Phase 4 was announced. On food prices he said, "We have not tried to make a precise estimate. Our record in trying to forecast food prices leaves you a little humble."

Capitalist system

To a certain extent these politicians are right. The capitalist government cannot and will not control prices. It represents the monopolists who profit from the food price rip-off.

swollen prices as the new norms for future Government subsidies."

The *Times*, of course, is not talking about poor and working farmers. They don't rake in superprofits, and they are not represented in Congress. What the *Times* is referring to is corporate farming.

Labor's role

It is precisely because of the collusion between the capitalist government and monopoly of all forms that working people shouldn't put confidence in any form of government controls to combat inflation. The record of rising food prices in the past two years, no matter which "Phase" the administration was in, bears this out.

But it is completely phony of the capitalist politicians to pretend that there is nothing that can be done to combat inflation. There is a solution to it, and the answer lies in the labor movement.

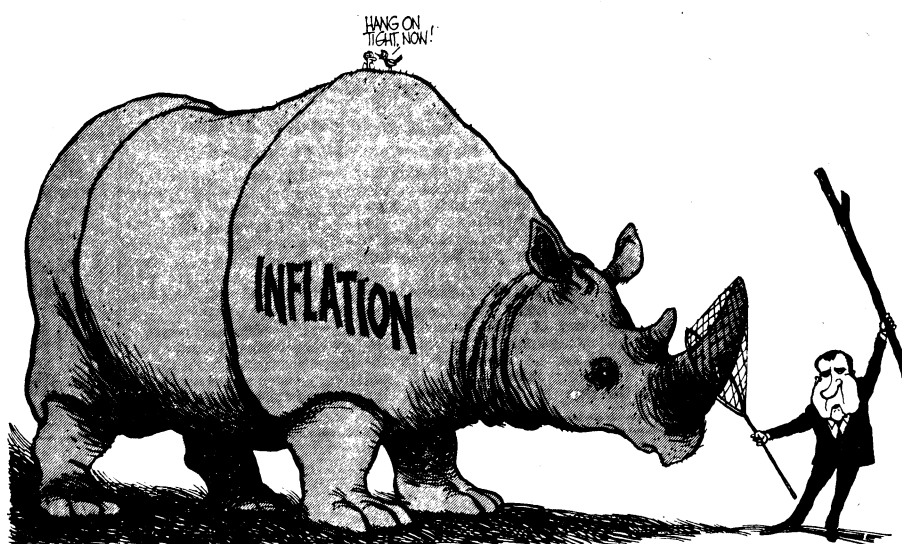
Workers can win protection in their wage contracts against inflation. If wages were geared to prices so that every time prices went up wages went up, then the undermining effects of inflation on paychecks would be removed.

This would be even better for workers if the cost-of-living clauses in contracts were tied to a genuine consumer price index instead of government figures. Shoppers themselves could form committees with union supporters to monitor all prices and figure out exactly how much of a wage increase is needed to keep up with the supermarkets.

Not only wages, but all forms of fixed incomes—welfare, unemployment, and Social Security—should contain cost-of-living protection. This would mean that the old and the sick would not be penalized as they are now when prices soar but their incomes remain fixed.

The key to this whole concept is relying on working people, not the capitalist government, to solve the pressing problems of the day. Instead of putting faith in capitalist politicians, workers need to organize a labor party based on the trade unions to protect their standard of living and to fight for a workers government.

Capitalist government economic controls are merely phony covers for increasing monopoly profits.



By Oliphant in the Denver Post

"... Then, picking up this big stick, we belt it firmly but moderately between the eyes!"

the beef price "ceiling" comes off Sept. 12.

The capitalist press is emphasizing the impact these price rises have had on consumers. "One of the most striking aspects of the Phase 4 announcement was the mood of resignation with which it seemed to be accepted by consumers, who appeared almost numbed," *New York Times* correspondent Gerald Gold reported July 20.

Don Elbertson of the New York Consumer Assembly declared, "They are punch drunk. People have been hit so often and so hard, they can't fight anymore. Where can they turn?"

It's a damned if you do, damned if you don't situation according to the government and food industry. The president of the Illinois Farm Bureau asserted that "consumers must remember as Phase 4 begins that the higher food prices they may face have been caused to some degree by the fact that controls have discouraged production of food and that it will be many months before any appreciable increase in some food supplies will be coming to market."

According to this argument, if there are controls, the agribusiness monopolists cut back production in order to drive prices up when the controls are lifted. But when there aren't controls, agribusiness also raises its prices. This was proved to the hilt by "Phase 3."

Figures have been released for the first part of June, the period directly before Nixon's "Phase 3 1/2" food-price controls. These show that food prices rose 1.7 percent in June alone, an annual rate of more than 20 percent. This made food prices 16 percent higher than a year ago. Meat prices had increased by a whopping 19.7 per-

An example of this—which hardly came as a surprise—was the *New York Times* revelation July 19 that Currier Holman, cochairman of Iowa Beef Processors, was a big campaign contributor to Nixon. Iowa Beef is the largest U.S. meat-packing firm. Its first quarter 1973 profits were \$369-million, 106 percent higher than a year earlier.

The *Times* also revealed that Holman's contribution to the campaign was solicited by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter. At the time Yeutter spoke to Holman, Iowa Beef was under investigation by the Federal Organized Crime Strike Force of the Southern District Force of New York and by the office of the Manhattan district attorney.

It's par for the course.

The capitalist government rules in the interests of corporations like Iowa Beef. It will never infringe on their "right" of profit.

Just when spiraling food prices are gouging paychecks, Congress is passing bills heavily backed by agribusiness to bolster farm prices even more. The *New York Times* felt compelled to point out the subservience of Congress to the agribusiness interests in its editorial columns July 21. "Department of Agriculture statistics tend to minimize the rate of enrichment of large farmers, but even they give important clues. This year, for example, the department estimates farm profits will exceed \$22 billion, i.e., they will be 40 per cent higher than they were as recently as 1970," the *Times* disclosed.

"Meanwhile in Congress, the still-potent farm bloc... has been succeeding in a drive to assure permanent super-prosperity for the nation's commercial farmers by defining inflation-



Militant/Terry Quillio

Why Democrats can't solve problems facing Cleveland's Black community

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND—On July 10, Democrat James Carney announced his candidacy for mayor of Cleveland. Carney, a white millionaire lawyer and land developer, was an unsuccessful candidate for mayor in 1970.

Carney faces opposition from Reverend Alfred Waller, a Black Democrat who is backed by the 21st Congressional District Caucus (CDC). The 21st CDC is a predominantly Black faction in the local Democratic Party, headed by Congressman Louis Stokes. Cleveland is about 40 percent Black.

Also in the race is Roberta Scherr, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Scherr is calling for a break from capitalist politics and is urging working people and Blacks to reject both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Republican incumbent, Ralph Perk, has not formally announced his campaign, but is expected to run again.

The Stokes years

Cleveland and Gary, Ind., were the first major northern cities to elect Black mayors. Riding on the wave of protest and rebellion in the Black community, Carl Stokes was elected mayor of Cleveland in 1967, winning the support of the Democratic Party organization. In 1965, he had made an unsuccessful bid for mayor as an inde-

pendent. crying need for social spending, more than 60 percent of the city's budget was allocated to the police. None of these conditions have improved under the current Republican administration.

The 21st C.D. Caucus

In 1968, Carl Stokes's brother, Louis, was elected to Congress from the 21st C.D. Louis Stokes is presently chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

In 1970 the Stokes brothers, supported by most other local Black politicians, set up the 21st Congressional District Caucus of the Democratic Party. The 21st CDC was an attempt by the Black Democrats to gain leverage to bargain for more positions of power in the Democratic Party. To dress up and mobilize support for their maneuvers, the Caucus leaders held public membership meetings and began to address themselves to such issues as crime and police brutality.

Many Black people in Cleveland saw the 21st CDC as a way to end the political isolation the Democratic and Republican parties have imposed on Blacks.

In 1971, the 21st CDC made its most serious challenge to the local leadership by running Arnold Pinkney for mayor as an independent. Pinkney competed for Democratic votes with Carney, who had the backing of the Democratic Party organization. As a result, Perk won the election with only



Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor, urges Black people and workers to break from Democratic and Republican parties.

candidate for mayor. He said he would support "other potential candidates who would make the run for mayor, have statistically a better chance of winning and who could serve our city and provide new leadership."

And in response to questions on a local television show about the Democratic Party, he said, "I think Black people have something to gain from the philosophy of the Democratic Party. And the only way to effect that philosophy is to work within the party."

The Waller campaign

Under the slogan of giving the Black community "voice" in Cleveland politics, Louis Stokes and the 21st CDC are backing Reverend Waller for mayor. But Waller, who calls himself a "Republocrat," has been denounced by Pinkney and Forbes. Most Black members of the city council have also opposed the Waller campaign.

Waller's program does not differ significantly from that of the regular Democrats. He calls for "reorganizing the police department" to protect "the rights of people to live, move about and do business." He calls for "rebuilding the inner-city," by removing fire hazards and thus reducing insurance rates. And he proposes to keep big business and industry in Cleveland by being more responsive to their needs.

Louis Stokes, in backing Waller, is sticking to the strategy that has guided the 21st CDC since 1970: put pressure on the Democratic Party from an "independent" position in order to gain more concessions and patronage. Yet it is precisely this strategy that has failed to improve the conditions Black people face in Cleveland, and failed to increase their political muscle.

The odds against a Black mayor this year are overwhelming. And, as the tenure of Carl Stokes demonstrated, even if a Black Democrat is elected, no real progress for Blacks will be made as long as that candidate owes allegiance to the big businessmen and bankers who control the Democratic Party.

The only candidate who represents a

real alternative to continued reliance on the capitalist parties is Roberta Scherr, nominee of the Socialist Workers Party. Scherr supports the struggle of Blacks for political power and control over their communities. To advance this struggle, she supports the formation of a mass, Black political party, independent of the racist Democratic Party.

"The Democratic Party cannot become an instrument for the liberation of Blacks," Scherr says, "because the Democratic Party—just like the Republican Party,—is a party of the capitalist class, which profits from racist oppression and economic exploitation."

To meet the problems confronting Cleveland's Black community, Scherr calls for "a crash program to construct schools, housing, hospitals, and other facilities in Cleveland. Top priority in these projects should go to the Black community, where the need is greatest. Funding for these programs should come from the government, and these projects should be completely controlled by the Black community."

"To fight unemployment, which is highest in the Black community, I call

CLEVELAND, July 21—The Cleveland SWP campaign committee held a successful banquet and rally here tonight featuring a speech by Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor.

Approximately 60 people attended the banquet and heard greetings from local United Farm Workers Union organizer Mark Pitt. In his remarks, Pitt noted the SWP's participation in the local support activities of the UFW and in particular a large picket line held that morning.

"We know that if Roberta Scherr is elected mayor," he said, "we wouldn't have the trouble we now have with A&P . . . it was my pleasure to endorse your campaign several days ago."

Pitt also complimented The Militant on its coverage of the strike and boycott, stating, "That's where we get most of our information."

for reducing the workweek at no reduction in pay, to spread the available work. To protect all workers against inflation, automatic cost-of-living escalator increases should be included in all union contracts. All social security, welfare, and unemployment benefits should be paid at union wages, with escalator clauses to keep up with inflation."

To put an end to police terror against the Black community, Scherr advocates "replacing the existing police occupation force with a force selected and controlled by the Black community."

"These and other gains," says Scherr, "will never be won by relying on the Democratic Party. The only way that Blacks have won the advances that they have is through independent struggle against the capitalist government and its two parties."

"This is what I am campaigning for in this election. The way to support this perspective at the polls is to cast a vote for the Socialist Workers Party."



Reverend Waller (left) listens as Representative Louis Stokes (center) backs Waller candidacy. Stokes is continuing efforts to build Black power base in Democratic Party through the 21st Congressional District Caucus, which is supporting Waller's campaign.

pendent.

The election of Stokes represented one attempt by the capitalist rulers of this country to head off the growing Black radicalization. Stokes was supported by then-President Lyndon Johnson, as well as by many wealthy businessmen in Cleveland.

Blacks expected the Stokes victory would lead to some real improvement in their lives. But his administration turned out to be fundamentally the same as those of previous Democrats. In return for support from the bankers and industrialists who rule the roost in the Democratic Party, Stokes retreated from positions he held when he ran in 1965. He moderated his criticism of the war in Vietnam, and abandoned a proposal for increasing taxes on corporation profits.

As mayor, his first act was to raise taxes on workers' wages. He increased the police force by 50 percent, and called out the National Guard to crush the rebellions of the Black community in 1968.

By 1970, after three years of the Stokes administration, 70 percent of the housing in Cleveland's Black community was still classified as sub-standard. And only 20 of the city's 180 schools passed health and safety inspections that year. Despite the

38 percent of the vote. Pinkney and Carney had 31 percent and 28 percent respectively.

Although Pinkney's campaign was formally independent of the Democratic Party, its real purposes was to maneuver some Black politicians into the leadership of the local Democratic Party.

Division in the 21st CDC

After the 1971 Republican victory, the 21st CDC split. Pinkney and others decided that the best way to advance the interests of the Black politicians was to unite with the Democratic Party organization to put the Democrats back into city hall. This meant abandoning their attempts to build a Black faction of the party, and backing a white candidate for mayor in 1973. When they tried to win the 21st CDC to this perspective, however, they were ousted by Stokes.

In April of this year, George Forbes, a Black Democrat who sided with Pinkney in the 21st CDC, was elected city council president with the support of the Democratic Party leadership. It is clear that this support was given in return for Forbes's pledge that no Black politician would run for mayor.

On June 21, Pinkney dramatically announced that he would not be a

26,000 sign SWP petitions in New York

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK — Supporters of the New York City Socialist Workers Party ticket have collected more than 26,000 signatures of registered voters to place nine SWP candidates on the November ballot. State election laws require 7,500 signatures to place Norman Oliver, SWP mayoral candidate, on the ballot, as well as the other city-wide SWP candidates: Joanna Misnik for city council president and Dick Roberts for controller.

More than 150 supporters of the Oliver for mayor campaign participated in this signature-gathering effort.

In Brooklyn, supporters of the three borough-wide SWP candidates gathered more than 10,000 signatures for Maxine Williams, candidate for Brooklyn Borough president, Mark Friedman, candidate for council-at-large; and James Mendieta, candidate for district attorney. This is the first time the SWP has run a full borough-wide slate in Brooklyn.

The more than 16,000 signatures collected in Manhattan will also place on the ballot B. R. Washington, SWP candidate for Manhattan borough



MAXINE WILLIAMS: SWP candidate for Brooklyn Borough president.

president; Richard Ariza, candidate for council-at-large; and Eva Chertov, candidate for city council in district 3.

Nearly 3,000 signatures were gathered on Long Island for Frank Manning, who is the SWP candidate for Nassau County executive.

On July 21, more than 100 people attended a victory celebration spon-

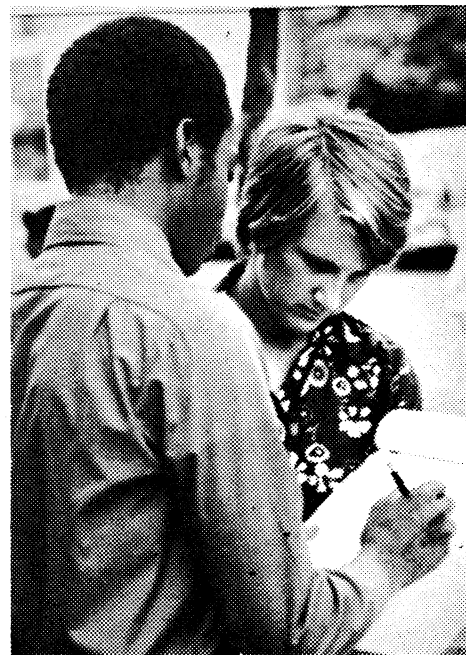
sored by the Lower Manhattan SWP campaign. Many activists from the struggle for community control of the schools in the predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese School District 1 attended to help celebrate the successful petitioning on the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

Both Georgina Hoggard, a pro-community control member of the District 1 school board, and Miriam Gonzalez, chairwoman of the Presidents Council of the Parents Association, spoke briefly at the celebration. They offered their congratulations to the SWP as well as their appreciation for the support the SWP has given the District 1 community-control struggle.

In this election, the Democratic, Republican, Liberal, and Conservative party nominees, are gathering signatures to garner a second, "independent" line for themselves on the ballot. Herman Badillo is also circulating independent nominating petitions.

In response to this development, Norman Oliver warned in a recent news statement: "We hope that the major party candidates, in attempting to appear on the ballot twice, do not in any way jeopardize the right of

smaller parties to equal treatment on the ballot. There are already many barriers placed in the way of independent parties getting a democratic hearing in the elections. These barriers serve to perpetuate a capitalist-party monopoly of the election process."



Militant/Michael Baumann

Atlanta SWP completes bid for ballot spot

By GEORGE BASLEY

ATLANTA, July 21 — Debby Bustin and Joel Aber, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and city council president, have just completed petitioning for ballot status.

In a three-week blitz, supporters of Bustin and Aber obtained a total of more than 19,000 signatures on nominating petitions, nearly two and a half times the 8,000 signatures required.

The two socialist candidates have announced plans for a July 25 news conference on the steps of city hall. They plan to blast both Democratic and Republican Party city officials for maintaining Atlanta's traditionally undemocratic election procedures, which have long been used to keep

socialist, Black, and poor candidates off the ballot.

In the 1969 mayoral election here, Linda Jenness, then the SWP candidate for mayor, sued the city because a \$1,000 filing fee was being used unconstitutionally to keep poor candidates off the ballot. The case went to the U. S. Supreme Court, which ruled that there had to be some alternative to the filing fee.

In response to this ruling, the state legislature passed new laws aimed at preserving the ballot for the rich. These laws required candidates who could not afford the filing fee to obtain signatures from 2 percent of the registered voters. This measure too, discriminated against poor people,

Blacks, and candidates of small parties, since only candidates who could not afford the filing fees would be required to go through the expensive and time-consuming petitioning process.

This year, Ethel Mae Matthews of the National Welfare Rights Organization filed a suit against these petitioning requirements, but was unsuccessful. Matthews is running for city council.

In 1970 and 1972, Linda Jenness and Alice Connor, then SWP candidate for U. S. Senator, also lost suits challenging Georgia's petitioning requirements for statewide ballot status. These are even more difficult to meet than the requirements for achieving ballot status in Atlanta municipal elec-

tions. It was these difficult statewide requirements that kept the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, off the ballot in Georgia in 1972.

"This year," Bustin charges, "our petitioning was successfully completed despite the fact that city officials made it as difficult as possible for us to comply with the election laws. We have been given the runaround at city hall, been harassed by the police department, and had our legal inquiries go unanswered by the city attorney." She expressed confidence that, for the first time in history, the SWP candidates would be on the ballot in a regular election in Georgia.

Calif. ballot suit gets wide media coverage

SAN FRANCISCO — The July 10 announcement here by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) that it was challenging the restrictive California election code has received widespread media coverage. The suit is being brought on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, La Raza Unida Party, and three other parties.

Major articles on the CoDEL lawsuit appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *San Francisco Progress*. The news conference announcing the suit was also featured on the ABC-TV and CBS-TV affiliates and a number of radio stations.

Vincent Hallinan, who was the presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, is the attorney for the CoDEL suit. Hallinan told the news conference, according to the July 11 *San Francisco Examiner*, that the exclusionary methods the Democrats and Republicans use to keep other parties off the ballot are "in the Watergate spirit of burglary and bribery."

The *Examiner* reported that another participant in the news conference, Gary Yoes, president of the San Francisco

Young Democrats, was asked "why he had not sought the help of elder Democrats in the Legislature to amend the Election Code rather than support court action."

Hallinan interrupted before the Young Democrat could answer, and explained, "It wouldn't do any good. They put those laws through. They're not going to take them away."

Ken Milner, a plaintiff in the suit and one of the SWP's candidates for the Berkeley city council in the 1973



Vincent Hallinan and CoDEL spokeswoman Chris Hildebrand at San Francisco news conference.

election, later amplified on Hallinan's remarks. "Watergate revelations," Milner said, "show the real attitude of the Democratic and Republican parties towards the elections."

"These two parties," Milner continued, "are both committed to the defense of capitalist minority rule in this country. That is why, in addition to their policies of bugging, burgling, and bombing, they also pass laws designed to exclude radical opponents of the capitalist system, like the SWP, from participating in the elections."

The sections of the California code challenged by CoDEL's suit require a previously unqualified political party to submit 663,000 valid signatures of registered voters in order to achieve ballot status, or to register 67,000 voters into the party.

Those wishing to run as Democrats or Republicans, by contrast, need only collect 65 to 100 signatures in order to have their name placed on the ballot in primary elections.

A similarly discriminatory law, also being challenged by CoDEL, requires a newly qualifying party to organize a state convention, a state central committee, and county central committees. It also requires the party to elect dele-

gates to a national convention according to the dates, meeting sites, and numerical formulas written into the election codes for the major capitalist parties.

The CoDEL suit also contains 16 affidavits showing that election officials in California may have thrown away as many as 15 to 25 percent of all valid write-in votes in the 1972 elections without counting them.

This section of the suit is designed to disprove the claim that the present election laws should be allowed to stand because provisions for write-in votes make it unnecessary to relax the stringent requirements for new or smaller parties to achieve ballot status.

Inquiries about the CoDEL suit and contributions to help defray the legal expenses are welcome. In addition, Californians who cast a write-in vote for president in 1972 are urged to call their county clerk or registrar to learn whether a write-in vote was recorded in their precinct. If it was not recorded, please notify CoDEL at P.O. Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94140 and give your name, current address, and address where you were registered to vote in November 1972.

Tlatelolco: a Chicano liberation school

By HARRY RING

In October 1968, Mexican troops opened fire on student protesters, killing at least 50 and wounding hundreds more. The site of the bloody attack was an area called the Plaza of the Three Cultures in the Tlatelolco district of Mexico City.

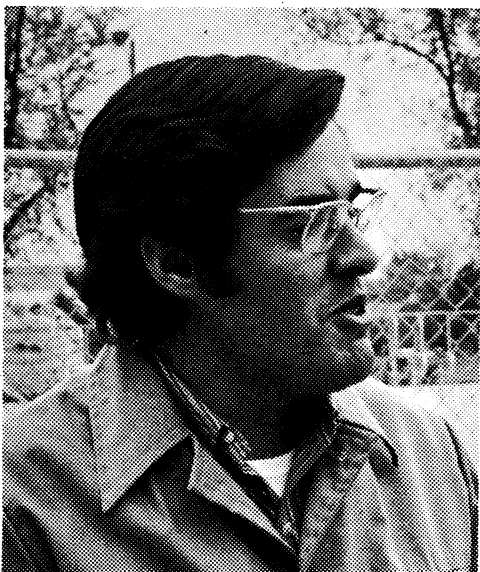
In 1969, when the Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based Chicano organization, established its own school, it was named Tlatelolco in commemoration of the Mexican student martyrs.

For Chicano victims of systematic police brutality, the symbolism was not an empty one. This fact was underlined with the March 17, 1973, Denver police assault on a Tlatelolco dormitory. A member of the Tlatelolco teaching staff, Luis (Junior) Martinez, was killed by police bullets and several others were wounded. Nearly 70 people were thrown into jail and many of them were beaten by the cops. Four people from the Crusade now face frame-up charges in a classic case of trying to make the victim the criminal.

Yet, according to Tlatelolco principal Jose Gonzales, the attack did not affect the functioning of the school. In a recent interview, he said there was no drop in attendance in the days after the police attack and that, if anything, the attack deepened the sense of solidarity among pupils, teachers, and parents.

That solidarity, as I was able to observe in several visits to Tlatelolco, is very real—and the reasons for it are not hard to find.

The Crusade for Justice, founded by Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, established its real roots in the Denver Chicano community when it played a key role in supporting a series of wide-scale "blowouts" (student strikes),



Militant/Harry Ring

JOSE GONZALES: 'We devise our own methods to cope with the problems created by a racist system.'

which Chicano high school students carried out in 1968.

That summer, and again in 1969, the Crusade organized summer freedom schools. The schools were so successful that the Crusade decided to establish a year-round school. They obtained an old church building, and Tlatelolco was founded.

The school has an enrollment of about 250, the capacity of the building. There is a waiting list of about 500, and Tlatelolco is now looking for a larger building.

Classes range from kindergarten to the graduate college level. Tlatelolco is accredited by Goddard College in Vermont, and several of its students have already received BA degrees and are working toward their MAs.

In addition to the school, the Tlatelolco building is also the center of activity for the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party (which the Crusade initiated).

Enrollment is free, as are transportation, lunches, and school supplies. An-



Militant/Harry Ring

'You learn about your history, your culture—where you come from.'

nual benefits and other fund-raising activities support the school.

Education is bilingual and bicultural throughout, with a declared focus on the social and political issues central to the Chicano liberation movement.

The school is not intended simply as a good, private alternative to the racist Denver public school system. Nor is Tlatelolco regarded as some kind of a counterinstitution that will somehow do away with the need to fight for Chicano control of the public schools in the barrios.

Tlatelolco is intended to educate and develop conscious liberation fighters who will take their place in the ranks of the Chicano movement.

Applications for young children are approved on the basis that the parents are either already active in the movement, or willing to become active. Movement activity is considered part of the education of students from an early age.

The students are far happier and far more motivated than those in the public schools. The daily attendance records show an absentee rate of only about 2 percent. In many of the barrio public schools, it runs as high as 25 percent.

The problems of "drugs and violence" associated with the public school system are nearly zero at Tlatelolco. "Last year we had one student wind up in Juvenile Hall," says Principal Gonzales.

In one interview, Gonzales explained that the school is a success because "the pupils are here because they want to be, not because they have to, like in the public schools.

"You can't even make them miss school when they're sick," he added. "The main thing," he continued, "is the self-identity here."

A good deal of creativity goes into teaching. "We have to devise our own methods to cope with the problems created by a racist system," he said. He told of one high school senior who didn't read well, even though she had previously gone to a "good" public school. "Here," Gonzales said, "we have her teaching small children to read. That means she's motivated to learn in order to teach them. She has a responsibility to the younger ones."

Pupils are also motivated, he said, by giving them meaningful material to work with. To the extent they can, they use movement material in the classes.

For the younger children, the school is developing its own texts—ones that relate to Chicano history and culture.

For the higher grades, many contemporary books on history and politics are used.

"Using books on movement subjects," Gonzales said, "we find pupils reading a book a week because they find them interesting and can relate to them."

"We don't teach one particular kind of movement politics or philosophy," he said. "The students read a wide range of movement publications. Papers like *El Grito del Norte*, our own *El Gallo*, *The Militant*, others. They get a wide range of political philosophies. We let them choose what they want. We're not here to say, 'You have to think this way, or that way.'

"The only thing we impress on the students," he continued, "is that they take what they learn here and put it to use in the Chicano community."

"With bilingual, bicultural education," he said, "we give them something they must have—an identity. You turn out some magnificent people that way. They're very positive in what they're doing."

"Many of our students are great speakers and real active in the community. It's amazing what even very young students can do in the community if you have them participate."

"During our Raza Unida campaign in 1972 we had four storefront headquarters, and many students helped staff them."

"In the elections we had students out doing voter surveys. It helped make them proficient in Spanish and it



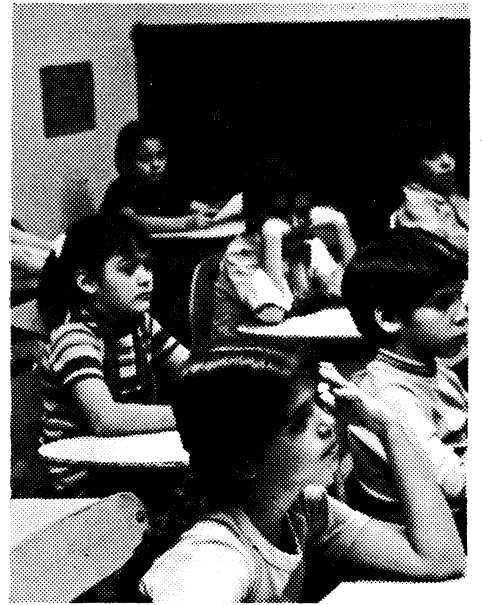
Militant/Al Baldovino

Denver, Sept. 16, 1972. Students of Tlatelolco School joined march to celebrate Mexican Independence Day.

helped politicize them.

"Also what they read in books about political functioning becomes more real when they can relate it to things they're doing."

In the school lunchroom one day I sat at a table with a group that included Virginia Vigil, whose four children are students at Tlatelolco. It was



Militant/Harry Ring

'We need La Raza Unida Party. It's the only way we're going to liberate ourselves.'

her birthday, and she had decided to celebrate by taking off from her job as an aide in a Headstart project and spending the day at Tlatelolco. She was a Crusade activist when the school was founded and her children were among the initial enrollees.

"My oldest boy was in the eighth grade," she said. "He didn't know how to read, how to spell. He wouldn't pick up a book for anything. Now he's good in all subjects. He reads books. Before you couldn't get him to do a book report. Now he reads everything!"

But the main thing, she said, is that since coming to Tlatelolco, her children have "developed a feeling of pride. They really have a lot of pride in themselves. They're not ashamed."

"Also," she continued, "they see that here they don't have to worry about having nice clothes or trying to compete with other children. They come in what they have and they're happy."

She recalled an experience her oldest son had in public school. "He brought his gym suit home for me to wash over the weekend and I didn't get it done. When he went back, the teacher hit him for not having it—even though it was my fault, not his."

She's a strong partisan of the Crusade and La Raza Unida Party, as well as of the school.

"I think we'll eventually become stronger," she said. "We've opened a lot of doors. I never did vote until we got La Raza Unida. Then I was very interested in voting. Before, it didn't mean anything."

While we were talking, Corky Gonzales sat down at our table. Corky has no official position on the staff of Tlatelolco, but is deeply involved with it. He asked me what I thought of the school.

I told him the only other time I had felt as at home in a school was in 1968, when I sat in a similar lunchroom of a public school in Cuba.

He said I couldn't have paid Tlatelolco a better compliment.

Tlatelolco students speak out

During one visit to Tlatelolco, I was invited to have a discussion with one of the high school classes. There were about a dozen young men and women. After we talked for a while, I asked what they thought of their school and turned on a tape recorder as they responded. The following are some of the things they had to say.

"You learn about your history, your culture—where you come from."

"The Denver school system is the

most racist in the whole country. When I started in kindergarten, I didn't know how to speak English. But after a while I forgot how to speak Spanish. It's like being brainwashed. They take away your language, your culture."

"Here it's not only school. There's so many things going on here. It's the school, it's the Crusade, it's the Raza Unida headquarters. We need La Raza Unida Party. It's the only way we're going to liberate ourselves."

—H. R.

The Socialist Workers Party and the fight against fascism



Germany, 1935

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Pompidou government took a new step in its attacks against the French working class on June 28 when it banned the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International. The pretext for the ban was that the League had participated in a demonstration against a small fascist group, and that during the demonstration a number of violent confrontations occurred.

The revolutionary movement has a long history in the struggle against fascism. Leon Trotsky, the co-leader of the Russian revolution along with Lenin, devoted a major portion of his writings to the struggle against fascism in Germany and in Spain.

The experience of the Socialist Workers Party in combating fascism in the U.S. is also well worth reviewing. The SWP's most extensive activity in this area took place in 1939 and 1946; it also organized a campaign against George Lincoln Rockwell's Nazi group in 1960.

The 1939 antifascist campaign of the SWP was carried out in close collaboration with Trotsky, who was living in Mexico at that time. Although small fascist groups existed in the U.S. throughout the 1930s, the continued deepening of the social crisis and the growth of fascism in Europe, especially with Franco's victory in Spain, resulted in a rapid expansion of these groups in 1939.

The 'Radio Priest'

By the middle of 1939 there were nearly 800 fascist or near-fascist organizations in the U.S. The most significant of these was the movement organized by Father Charles Coughlin, "the Radio Priest." Coughlin's weekly magazine, *Social Justice*, claimed a circulation of hundreds of thousands. His speeches were carried regularly over 48 radio stations, reaching an audience of millions.

Coughlin mixed the crudest anti-Semitism, race-baiting, anticommunism, and anti-trade unionism with radical-sounding rhetoric, promising peace, social justice, and even revolution. His movement attracted tens of thousands of unemployed workers and young people driven to despair by the depression and the coming war.

Like fascist demagogues the world over, Cough-

lin attempted to divert the bitterness and anger of the masses away from capitalism, which was responsible for their situation, towards scapegoats such as radicals, Jews, and the union movement.

But the Coughlinites didn't stop with hate campaigns. Emulating Hitler's Brown Shirts, they went out into the streets, beating Jews and attacking meetings and headquarters of working-class organizations.

While Coughlin was openly aided by the apparatus of the Catholic Church, which refused to disavow his activities, fascism began to assume a more peculiarly American form as well. In Jersey City, Mayor Frank Hague gained nationwide notoriety through his use of the police and nonuniformed gangs of thugs. Hague was a machine politician who decided he could build his political future on attacks against the union movement and radicals. Union picket lines were attacked, as were meetings of socialists and even of the American Civil Liberties Union. This was the alternative the capitalist class here in the U.S. held in reserve in the event that it became unable to stem the rising labor radicalization of the 1930s through other means.

But the Communist Party and the Socialist Party were unable to explain this simple truth to the working class. They were both supporting Franklin Roosevelt, and they counseled workers to rely on the government to fight the fascist menace, both at home and abroad. This policy of class collaboration, instead of the self-reliance of the working class, was opposed by the SWP.

When the German-American Bund called for a mass rally at New York's Madison Square Garden in February 1939, the SWP took the initiative in rousing the workers in their own defense. The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and the Communist Party not only refused to join with the SWP in a united front action against the fascists; they even refused to print a word about the demonstration. Three of New York's major Jewish newspapers joined with Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's deputy, Newbold Morris, to urge people to boycott the antifascist demonstration.

However, through a fortunate coincidence, the attempts to sabotage the demonstration failed, and

the fascists were not allowed to meet unopposed. The *Daily News*, a reactionary daily with a circulation in the millions, took the opportunity of the demonstration called by the SWP to take its distance from Coughlin. It reprinted the leaflet for the antifascist rally, and gave it additional coverage. Fifty thousand people turned out at the demonstration, refusing to disband in the face of repeated police attacks.

The Feb. 24, 1939, issue of the *Socialist Appeal* (the paper of the SWP at that time) reported that "as the militants disbanded, along about midnight, the Tuesday edition of the *Daily Worker* appeared on the street. Unbelievable as it sounds, while the Stalinist sheet had a report of what went on inside the Garden at the Nazi meeting, it did not even mention the fact that there had been tens of thousands of workers gathered near the Garden in a stormy, anti-Nazi protest meeting!" (Emphasis in original.)

The antifascist demonstration had been too big for the CP to get away with ignoring it, however. In the March 3, 1939, *Daily Worker*, V.J. Jerome finally tried to explain the CP's refusal to act against the fascists. He asked, "... what would have been the result of an attempt to 'stop the meeting' after the progressive LaGuardia Administration had granted permission for it to be held? One could certainly have differed with the LaGuardia Administration for granting permission. ... But certainly the Communists could not undertake to forcibly prevent such a meeting once the City Administration had allowed it.

"In the given circumstances, such a course would have played directly into the hands of the Nazi conspirators themselves; it would have incited a direct collision not only with the Bund, but with the city administration and the police who were present to enforce the decision of the city administration. ..."

The essence of this argument is that it is necessary to rely upon the capitalist government to fight fascism. The CP opposed the independent mobilization of the masses against the fascist menace because they feared that such mobilizations would endanger its alliance with the "progressive" capitalist politicians.

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That the fascist threat was real was shown both by the fact that 18,000-20,000 people turned out for the Nazi meeting, and by the massive response to the SWP's call for action. The workers saw the danger and were ready to fight against it. What they needed was leadership.

United front

The SWP had no illusions of being able to take on the fascist organizations on its own; it was a very small group. It was necessary to unite the working-class organizations, regardless of their differences on other matters, in a common struggle to root out the fascist menace. A *united front* was needed.

This task was made very difficult by the refusal of the CP and Socialist Party to join in common action against the fascists. These were the largest left-wing organizations in the country. The CP had tens of thousands of members, it circulated a daily newspaper throughout the country, and it held leadership positions in a number of major trade unions.

But the SWP campaign for united labor action against the fascist menace corresponded to the interests and feelings of the masses of workers. Two days after the Feb. 20 action of 50,000 in New York, 5,000 people turned out on one day's notice against a meeting of the German-American Bund in Los Angeles. As in New York, the demonstration was boycotted by the CP. In this case, however, the SWP was successful in gaining the endorsement of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union for the action. Many rank-and-file CP members attended these demonstrations, and the Stalinist leadership began to be put into the position of arguing against actions that its membership saw as reasonable and necessary.

Workers defense guards

Appeals to the political organizations of the working class, however, although necessary, were not sufficient. The big majority of the working class was not in any workers party. It was the trade unions, themselves threatened by the growth of a fascist movement, that had to serve as the arena for organizing the working class against fascism.

In keeping with Trotsky's insistence in *The Transitional Program* that "the struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory," the SWP advocated the formation of workers defense guards by the trade unions as the way that the working class could defend itself.

The resolution on the workers defense guard (see facing page) adopted by the SWP convention held in July 1939 emphasized that it was the job of the workers defense guard to defend the rights "of the labor movement as a whole, and indeed of all groups, individuals, organizations, racial minorities, etc., threatened or attacked by the fascists, vigilantes or other reactionaries."

Of course, the SWP was not in favor of passively waiting for the unions to build such workers defense guards. Part of the job of campaigning for the unions to take action against the fascists was demonstrations such as those held in New York and Los Angeles.

"In localities where it is at present impossible



Defeat of antifascists in Spain spurred the growth of fascism in the U.S. Above, Republican troops in French internment camp.

to enlist the established unions in the task of building the Guard," the SWP resolution continued, "it is now necessary, in addition to constant agitation for union initiative, to take concrete steps in the formation of the Guard with what forces are available. Where such forces are meager it would be an error to regard the group that can be formed as a Workers Defense Guard in the full sense; rather, since the genuine Guard can be built only by enlisting the masses, are such groups skeletons or embryos of the Guard. They cannot substitute their action for that of the masses, but must aim to win the masses especially in the trade unions to the task of building the Guard, by adding on however a modest scale, the lesson of action and example to that of agitation."

The SWP moved to implement the ideas in this resolution in a number of ways. It carried out an extensive educational campaign in the pages of the *Socialist Appeal* to explain the need for workers defense guards and to agitate for their formation. It produced a pamphlet explaining the nature of the Coughlin movement and its danger to workers, Jews, Blacks, and others. SWP members in New York sold 8,500 of these pamphlets during a sales campaign of only three weeks in the summer of 1939.

In addition, the SWP held numerous street meetings to promote its campaign against the fascists, while continuing to call for united-front demonstrations at fascist meetings. These street meetings and demonstrations were resolutely defended against fascist goons. This was no mean feat in view of the fact that in June 1939, a meeting of 18,000 Jehovah's Witnesses was broken up by the fascists in New York.

A 'crazy idea'?

Finally, the SWP campaigned within the trade-union movement for the formation of workers defense guards. The effect of this campaign is indicated by the fact that in July of 1939 Coughlin used an entire radio broadcast to attack a member of the ILGWU for having proposed that the union form a workers defense guard. Two

days later, David Dubinsky, the head of the ILGWU, rushed into print to disavow any intention of forming such a defense guard, denouncing it as a "crazy idea."

But the best example of the effect of the SWP's campaign and the validity of its program for fighting the fascist menace came in August 1939. On Aug. 9, the Coughlinite organizations in New York called for a fascist mobilization under the guise of an "anti-Communist parade." They announced that on Aug. 19 they would march from Columbus Circle to Union Square, known as the center of the American labor movement of that time.

The SWP answered this provocation with a call for a united counter-demonstration. It appealed to the CP, the SP, and major Jewish organizations, as well as other groups, to join in the action. In the meantime, 200,000 leaflets were printed and street meetings and rallies were organized throughout the city in order to build the counter-demonstration.

No reliance on gov't

The SWP's call for a counter-demonstration, along with the rest of its activity against the fascists, was based on the concept that only the workers themselves, relying on their own organizations and their own strength, could defeat the fascist threat. In its appeal to the CP to join in a united front against the fascists, the SWP argued, "We cannot depend on Mayor LaGuardia to protect the labor movement from Coughlin's storm troop 'Christian Front.'"

"LaGuardia's cops are themselves sympathetic to Coughlin. They arrest salesmen of anti-Coughlin literature. They assist Coughlin salesmen."

Coughlin himself boasted that 5,000 New York cops were members of his movement. Nevertheless, instead of joining together to mobilize the workers in their own defense, the CP appealed to LaGuardia to ban the fascist demonstration. An editorial in the Aug. 15, 1939, *Socialist Appeal* pointed out that "these delegations [to LaGuardia] are repeating the experience of similar delegations which attempted to get Mayor LaGuardia to prevent the fascist mobilization at Madison Square Garden on February 20."

"Far from stopping the fascists, LaGuardia provided them on February 20 with the protection of the largest police concentration in the history of the city. In the name of civil liberties, LaGuardia's police spent the night plunging their horses into the 50,000 anti-fascist pickets in the neighborhood."

While the CP participated in delegations asking LaGuardia to ban the fascist action, its candidate for the New York city council from the Bronx proposed his solution in the Aug. 13, 1939, *Daily Worker*: "A city ordinance forbidding the spread of anti-Semitic propaganda and outlawing anti-Semitic organizations is possible and necessary," he said.

"What good are city ordinances against fascist hooligans and clubs, knives and blackjacks?" responded the *Socialist Appeal* Aug. 18.

"There is only one way to fight the fascists. That is to ORGANIZE the anti-fascists into WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS, ready and trained to defend union halls and unionists, Jewish and Gentile



The U.S. fascist movement reached its height in the late 1930s, but it never quite died out. Above, picketing workers storm into a Minneapolis meeting called to hear Gerald L.K. Smith in 1946. The workers, organized by a united front which included the AFL and CIO in Minneapolis, veterans, Black and Jewish groups, and the SWP, dispersed the racist, labor-hating fascists.

anti-fascists, against the fascist gangsters."

In practice, laws ostensibly directed against the fascist gangs are more often than not used against the working class and its organizations. This was the experience in the U.S. with the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), supporters of which originally argued that it would be used against the fascists. In France, the law that was used to ban the Communist League was supposedly directed against the fascist groups that grew up there in the 1930s.

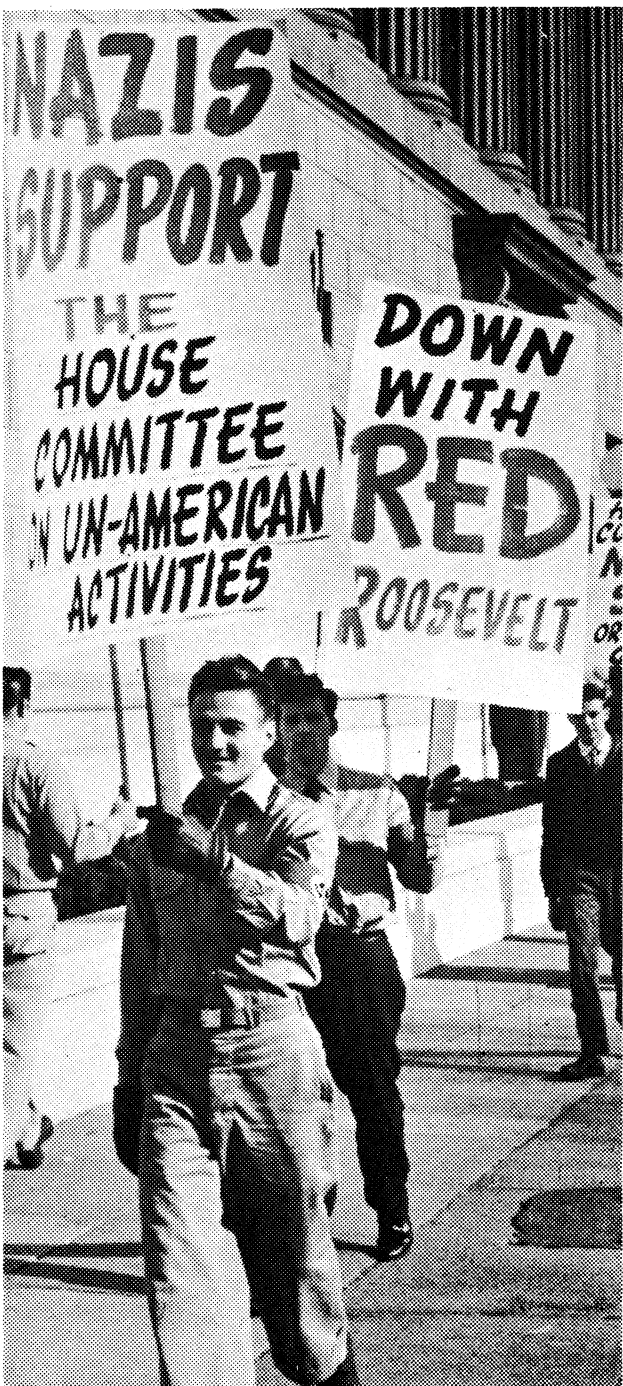
The whole experience of the workers movement shows that the struggle against fascism can only be carried out independently of the capitalist government. Requests for the banning of fascist groups or meetings only cut across the mobilization of the workers, giving them the illusion that action on their part is unnecessary, while giving the government a handle to use against the left.

In the case of the Coughlinite march, the refusal of the SWP to rely on LaGuardia to deal with the fascists soon paid off. Preparations for the counter-demonstration met with such a powerful response that Coughlin was forced to back down. Less than two days before the scheduled fascist march, Coughlin made a long-distance phone call to cancel the demonstration.

Only one month after this incident, World War II began in Europe. As Roosevelt stepped up preparations for U.S. entry into the war, the capitalists found they were able to line up the trade-union movement behind their war policies with little problem, thanks to the union bureaucracy.

In this situation, the continued activity of fascist groups known for their sympathy with Hitler and Mussolini could only be a source of embarrassment for the government. Furthermore, the war resulted in the disappearance of the unemployment that the fascist movement had fed upon. Together, these factors caused a rapid decline in the fascist movement.

But the forces that produced the crisis of the 1930s continue to operate, as is indicated by the growing political and economic problems of American capitalism. The methods of struggle against fascism worked out and set forth by Leon Trotsky, which the SWP applied in the late 1930s, in 1946, and again in 1960, can serve to fight fascism *whenever and wherever* it appears.



Although the original supporters of HUAC justified its creation by claiming it would attack fascists, the Nazis soon figured out who it was really aimed at.

SWP resolution on the workers defense guard

The following resolution on the formation of workers defense guards was passed by the convention of the Socialist Workers Party in July 1939.

1. The collapse of the New Deal, and the insuperable, ever-mounting internal conflicts of United States capitalism are beginning to pose more directly to the U. S. bourgeoisie the necessity of abandoning parliamentary democracy and resorting to fascism as the sole means for preserving its power and privilege; and these same factors simultaneously open the minds of large numbers among the unemployed, farmers, middle classes and demoralized proletarians to fascist demagoguery and organization.

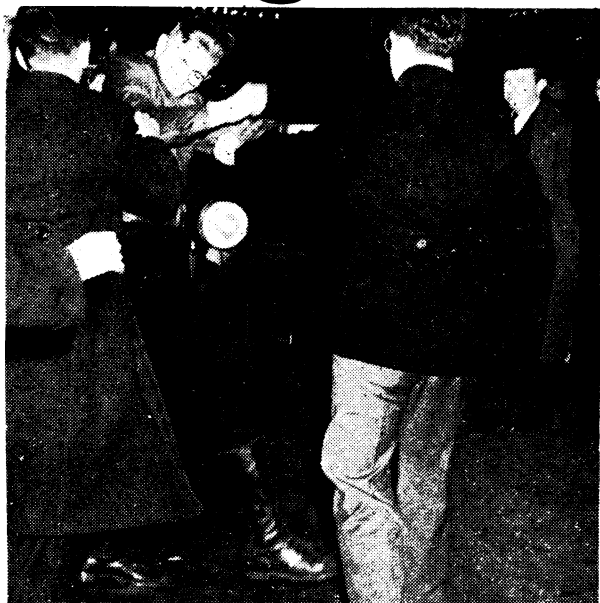
2. Recent months have witnessed a profound transformation in the character of the fascist movement in the United States. Before this, it had been confined largely to individual cranks, eccentrics, and dilettante intellectuals, and "foreign" groups such as the various Italian fascist societies and the Nazi Bund. Now, for the first time, it is becoming a serious, native, mass movement. In the first stage of this transformation, the Coughlinites in the big cities, and to a lesser extent the Silver Shirts in the farming areas and smaller towns, are playing a major role. Whatever may be the eventual fate of these two particular groups, and whatever may be the episodic rises and declines of the fascist movement as a whole, it is certain to grow in extent and depth until its sources have been rooted out. This can be accomplished by nothing short of the social revolution.

3. The transformation of the fascist movement dictates the transformation of the methods of defense against it. Theoretical analysis and abstract propaganda, to which specifically anti-fascist activities had to be more or less confined so long as fascism in this country remained primarily a threat for the future, become altogether inadequate when fascism has become a reality of the present.

4. The long-term defense against fascism can be only the achievement of the social revolution. Meanwhile, however, there is the immediate and direct problem of the physical defense of the organization, lives and liberties of the workers, which the fascists aim first to weaken and then to destroy, from the physical assaults of the fascist gangs. The experience of all countries, including the United States, proves beyond any doubt whatever that the agencies of the bourgeois-democratic state will not and cannot carry out this defense; but that on the contrary, reliance upon these agencies guarantees the smashing of the workers and the victory of the fascists. Only the workers themselves, relying on their own means and strength, can defend their own organizations and life and liberties. The only possible form of defense against the fascists is the Workers Defense Guard. Whereas, formerly, the Workers Defense Guard has been primarily a slogan for agitation, the point has now been reached, and more than reached, when the concrete task of the actual building of the Workers Defense Guard must begin in action.

5. The Workers Defense Guard is, from one point of view, an outgrowth and development of the picket squads used by virtually all unions in strikes. From the beginning, however, the Defense Guard differs in key respects from the picket squads. The Guard is permanent, whereas the picket squads are usually created only for the duration of the strike. The duties of the Guard are not merely picketing, defense against scabs, etc., but at all times the defense of the headquarters and rights of the union and its members. Moreover, the tasks of the Guard must be conceived, from the start, not in narrow terms of the given single union which may be first involved, but of the labor movement as a whole, and indeed of all groups, individuals, organizations, racial minorities, etc., threatened or attacked by the fascists, vigilantes, or other reactionaries. The duty of the Guard is to defend all who need defense from the assaults of the fascists. To carry out this duty, the Guard must be trained and disciplined, and function democratically as an autonomous body. From a second point of view, the Workers Defense Guard is the preparation for the far broader organization of the masses, with far greater tasks, which will in the future have the task of defending the masses against the counter-revolution.

6. From the nature of the Workers Defense Guard



Attacks on workers organizations by the fascists could only be met by workers defense guards. In the incident shown above, a Nazi who attacked pickets at the Madison Square Garden demonstration called by the SWP is put in his place.

and its tasks, it follows that the Guard should take form wherever possible through the established unions. Revolutionists within the unions must attempt to win the union members as a whole to a realization of the necessity of the Guard and must aim to have the unions initiate the actual building of the Guard. Where a union forms units of the Guard, the aim must be from the beginning to extend the scope and base of the Guard beyond the normal confines of union organization and activity: by drawing into the Guard unemployed, youth, and others who are not members of the union (and in many cases are not in a position to be members of any union), by linking up with other unions in the building of the Guard, by establishing relations with the Guard in other cities and by amplifying the types of activities undertaken by the Guard.

7. In localities where it is at present impossible to enlist the established unions in the task of building the Guard, it is now necessary, in addition to constant agitation for union initiative, to take concrete steps in the formation of the Guard with what forces are available. Where such forces are meager it would be an error to regard the group that can be formed as a Workers Defense Guard in the full sense; rather, since the genuine Guard can be built only by enlisting the masses, are such groups skeletons or embryos of the Guard. They cannot substitute their action for that of the masses, but must aim to win the masses especially in the trade unions to the task of building the Guard, by adding on however a modest scale, the lesson of action and example to that of agitation. In New York City, Newark, and elsewhere, first steps have been taken along these lines by the formation of the Anti-Fascist Labor Guard.

8. The struggle against fascism makes possible, and demands, the broadest possible united front. The essential requirements for membership in the Defense Guard must be formulated simply as a willingness to fight the fascists, to defend labor and other organizations and groups from fascist and vigilante attacks, and to accept the democratic discipline of the Guard. While taking every precaution to make sure of the integrity of every applicant and to preserve the Guard from provocateurs, stool-pigeons and irresponsible or light-minded elements, the effort must be made to enlist membership and support as broadly and widely as possible on this basis.

9. The significance of our party's advocacy and support of the Guard is in no way limited to the specific and all-important tasks which the Guard can and must fulfill. Advocacy and support of the Guard is an integral and decisive part of the political program of our party, and a political weapon of the utmost importance. Experience has already shown, and will more fully confirm in the future, that the slogan of building the Guard meets with an immediate response from the best sections of the workers and the youth, and concretizes the whole meaning of our conception of the struggle against fascism in a manner accomplished by no other part of our program.

Party building during the witch-hunt: the '53 split in the SWP

In 1952 and 1953 a deepgoing political struggle, one of the most important in the history of American Trotskyism, took place within the Socialist Workers Party. Speeches to the Party, a newly published book, presents a history of that struggle in the form of speeches and letters by James P. Cannon, the SWP's central leader at that time.

At stake in the fight were fundamental principles of Trotskyism, revolving around the question of whether it was necessary or possible to build a revolutionary party in the U. S. A faction in the SWP, led by Bert Cochran and including a sizable number of party activists and experienced trade unionists, was gradually abandoning this basic perspective, some even moving toward reconciliation with the union bureaucracy. Underlying the factional struggle were the isolation and pressure felt by revolutionists because of the ebb in the labor movement, the cold war, and the McCarthyite anticommunist witch-hunt.

Another component of the Cochran faction was a group of party members headed in a very different direction, toward adaptation to Stalinism. Led by George Clarke, Harry Frankel, and Mike Bartell, their common ground with Cochran was abandonment of the task of building a Trotskyist party. The fight culminated in a split in the SWP and in the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. The major forces of the Fourth International were reunified 10 years later in 1963.

Reprinted below are excerpts from the introduction to *Speeches to the Party*, written by Al Hansen, that give a picture of the context and character of the fight he helped lead against the Cochranites in Michigan. Hansen is a member of the Political Committee of the SWP.

Speeches to the Party is published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 432 pp. Paper \$3.45 Cloth \$10.

In this period, I was a member of the Detroit SWP branch and I was working in an auto plant. Michigan was the main base of the Cochran faction and I would like to describe some of the experiences there.

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) came to Detroit in the spring of 1952. This committee, in a bloc with UAW President Walter Reuther, succeeded in stirring up a real lynch atmosphere in the automobile plants throughout Michigan. The daily papers published long lists of the names, addresses, and places of employment of suspected reds. Gangs of right-wing workers roamed through the auto plants looking for those workers listed to beat them up and run them out of the plants. Some well-known Stalinists had to flee for their lives. Some of our own members were advised by their party fractions to stay away from their jobs until things cooled off, while others had enough support so that they didn't have to worry.

At the very time that HUAC came to Detroit and the anti-red hysteria was at its peak, we were in the midst of a campaign of getting signature on petitions to put the SWP presidential and statewide candidates on the ballot. And even under those adverse conditions we managed to get the required number of signatures.

Directly following HUAC's visit to Detroit, the Michigan state legislature passed a bill introduced by a state senator named Trucks which made it a crime to be a "subversive," punishable by ten years in jail and a \$10,000 fine. Another provision of the act was that a "subversive" could not be on the ballot in the election. So the Socialist Workers Party, after having successfully petitioned and been certified for a place on the ballot, was ruled off by the Michigan attorney general.

Our party had been declared subversive under the Trucks Act, which also made it a crime to belong to such an organization. The penalties were very severe, so the party decided it had better take some precautions, in case the attorney general decided to move against the individual members. In April 1952, the Michigan section of the party reorganized itself into small cells. And so it remained for a period of months until it appeared that the state was not going to move against our individual members.

Of course when this act was passed, we went into action to attempt to build a defense committee. We decided that the best test of the law would be to sue for the right to be on the ballot. This would be much better than to test it on an individual basis, where there was a chance, if the case was lost, that an individual member would be sent to prison.

Though HUAC's hearings were in Detroit, their influence was statewide. For example, a Buick local of the UAW in Flint, with some 25,000 members, passed a motion at a membership meeting asking the HUAC witch-hunters to come up and investigate their union.

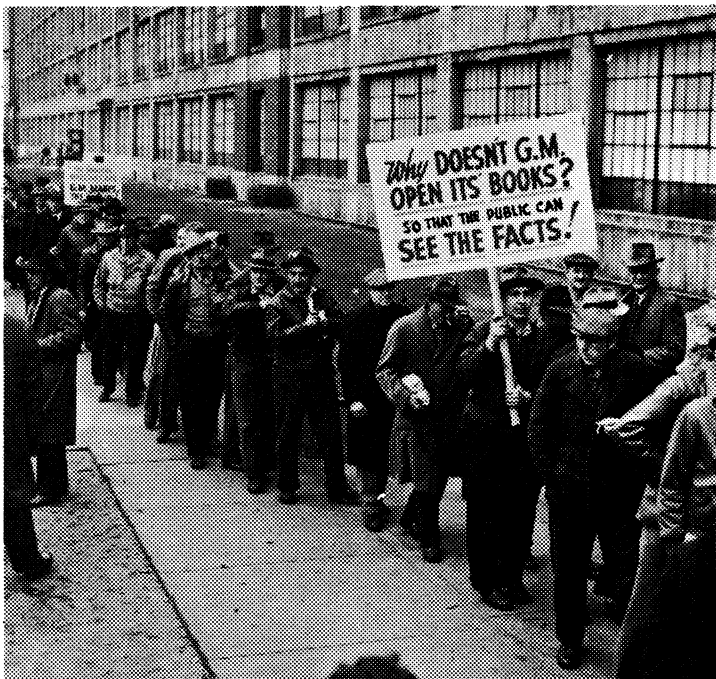
Now Flint is a company-dominated town, a town owned lock, stock and barrel by General Motors. If you got fired and blackballed by GM there, you had to leave town, for not another factory or business would dare to hire you.

There was not a single supporter of the majority in the Flint SWP branch. Sol and Genora Dollinger were the leaders of the branch. Both were long-time members, and Genora (previously Genora Johnson) had played a leading role in the sit-down strike there which had established the UAW. Sol, the branch organizer, worked on the assembly line in the Chevrolet plant. During the height of the HUAC-inspired witch-hunt, he was chased out of the plant every

day by a mob of right-wing workers. He had to report for work or the company would have fired him for absenteeism, since it was just looking for a chance to get rid of him. The psychological pressure began to affect his political judgment.

During a visit I and Bea Hansen made to Flint, Sol and Genora expressed the following views. The party should not be trying to build branches, running election campaigns, or even trying to recruit members in this period. The country was facing the triumph of fascism and there wasn't a damn thing we could do about it because of the conservatism of the workers and our party's weakness. When fascism triumphed here, all known Trotskyists would be wiped out as had happened in Nazi Germany. Therefore the best thing that we could do as revolutionists was to spend as much time as we had writing down and printing our ideas, our program, and then hide this printed matter in attics, basements, etc., for future generations to discover. In that way, the ideas of socialism would live on and ultimately triumph. They were serious people, and they were actually making preparation to hide their own library so the fascists wouldn't destroy it. Such were the ludicrous extremes that even intelligent and experienced comrades went to under the pressure of events. Since they were the undisputed leaders of the Flint branch, it isn't surprising that in the course of the faction fight the Flint branch simply evaporated.

The Cochranites in Detroit didn't go to such extremes. They were opposed to running any more presidential or local election campaigns, if it required petitioning to get on the ballot. This position was very popular and a vote catcher in the branch after the experience of the 1952 petitioning. They claimed that election campaigning was like throwing seeds into the wind, hoping that these would settle and grow on fertile soil, and that the working class was too reactionary, too docile, for such an approach to have any effect. In addition, they came to oppose mass



Cochran grouping in SWP included union activists from the labor upsurges of 1930s and 1940s who became discouraged about the possibility of building a revolutionary party. Above, auto workers during post-World War II strike wave.

subscription drives for *The Militant* (the newspaper reflecting the views of the party) because they said it was a waste of time to try to sell the paper to the general reactionary mass. The mass didn't want the paper, the mass opposed its ideas. They also thought that we should discontinue weekly branch meetings, or at the most have one branch meeting a month, having an open forum of a social democratic nature in the place of the branch meeting the other three weeks. They opposed holding public meetings in the name of the party because, they said, it invited an attack on us by the government, and other reactionary forces. We in the majority began to suspect that they weren't very anxious to conduct any type of activity, that they were giving up the revolutionary party.

One experience captures the essence of the situation. In June 1953, those of us in Michigan who supported the majority position—fewer than half a dozen—got together and decided to push very hard for the branch to run a candidate for mayor in the local election. The Cochranites were very reluctant to do so, but we demanded that the branch carry out the line of the national majority. Moreover it was very easy to run for mayor in Detroit; all you had to do was pay a \$100 filing fee and you were on the ballot. Because of this, we finally forced the Cochranites to give in. But they made one stipulation: one of us would have to be the candidate!

We agreed and Frank Lovell ran for mayor in Detroit. We ran a good campaign, with lots of publicity: TV, radio, newspapers—all the media picked us up. We were news; we were the reds campaigning for office at the height of the witch-hunt. Some of the Cochranites shook in their boots every time we got publicity. And I'm sure some of them wondered all through the campaign why Frank didn't end up in jail.

Do your own reviews for local papers

The July 20 "News from Pathfinder" announced the recent publication of *Teamster Power* by Farrell Dobbs and predicted that it would be as well received by reviewers as Dobbs's first book, *Teamster Rebellion*.

Although *Teamster Power* has been in print less than a month, it has already been reviewed in two important publications in addition to *The Militant*.

The July 16, 1973, issue of *Union Advocate* commented: "Dobbs, a leader in the 1934 Minneapolis truck drivers strike, continues his story of the campaign in the 1930s to organize over-the-road truckers, a turning point in Teamster history."

"The new book to be formally issued in September is a sequel to Dobbs's *Teamster Rebellion* published a year ago."

"Dobbs, who shared leadership of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 with the Dunne brothers, makes no bones about being a pro-Trotsky Communist and official of the Socialist Workers Party. While this book, like *Teamster Rebellion*, is written entirely from a revolutionary Marxist point of view, the events and times covered will be of interest to students of local labor history."

Union Advocate has a circulation of around 60,000 and is, according to its masthead, "since

News from Pathfinder

1896 the voice of organized labor in the greater St. Paul area."

The other review appeared in *Kirkus Reviews*, one of the journals most looked to by book buyers for guidelines on what to place in their stores.

Whoever wrote the unsigned review ignored the book's relevance to union militants today, but nevertheless admitted grudging admiration: "The second of three recollections by Farrell Dobbs, the '30's fireball Trotskyite Teamster organizer from Minneapolis Local 574, covering the early radical history before Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa got their voracious paws on the union and turned it into something sinister. Dobbs, whose first book, *Teamster Rebellion* (1972)—a partisan account of the 1934 Minneapolis strikes which bucked the power of Daniel Tobin (then president of the International Brotherhood)—here takes his personal story up to 1938 and the efforts to organize drivers in the Midwest—the next great advance in establishing the Teamsters as a national labor power."

Pathfinder Press books have been reviewed by an increasing number of prestigious national and international journals. For example, the May 18, 1973, *London Times Literary Supplement* reviewed *Leon Trotsky Speaks*, *The Spanish Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, and *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1932-33*. "Circumstances make it unlikely," they wrote, "that we shall have in any predictable future a complete edition of his [Trotsky's] works. But his followers in this country and the United States are making a laudable effort to keep as many as possible of them in print in English—a language in which none of them was originally written."

But it is also important that reviews appear in local campus, labor, underground or daily papers. Without these reviews, most young radicals won't know that these books written by revolutionaries exist.

Readers of *The Militant* can help in getting these reviews. After you've read one of Pathfinder's books, write a review and submit it to a paper in your area. This has been happening in some cities. The Aug. 15, 1972, issue of *Minnesota Daily*, daily newspaper of the University of Minnesota, carried a review of *Teamster Rebellion* under the headline "'34 Teamsters not unlike '72 students."

Letters have begun to come in describing activities carried out to publicize and distribute Pathfinder literature in local areas. During the fall months, these suggestions will be passed on through this column.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

'No danger from Army nerve gas'?

People around the world have experienced firsthand the terror of the U.S. military machine. But in addition to the weapons the U.S. has already unleashed in Southeast Asia and other places, the government is stockpiling vast quantities of chemical-warfare weapons that are almost beyond belief.

A horrifying example of this was thrust into the news recently when Denver residents learned that the nearby Rocky Mountain Arsenal is storing 21,115 cluster bombs of deadly GB nerve gas. Each bomb contains 76 "bomblets," totaling more than 4.2 million pounds of nerve gas—enough to kill everyone on earth 1,000 times over. The arsenal is located next to busy Stapleton Airport, only 10 miles from the heart of downtown Denver.

The Army has long assured the city that while the stockpiled nerve gas poses no danger, they were in the process of moving or "detoxifying" it anyway. But a routine request for permission to use part of the arsenal grounds for a new airport runway eventually forced the Pentagon to admit that this was just another government cover-up.

The Army at first agreed to the runway proposal, but after a considerable amount of work was completed, a Pentagon safety board suddenly withdrew approval. According to the July 5 *New York Times*, the "plans were rejected partly because of the deteriorating physical condition of the arsenal's facilities and the number of old bombs that each year begin leaking internally."

Arsenal officials still insist there is no danger, either from the leakage or the possibility of a plane crash. Jets are not allowed to fly below 1,700 feet over the area, and this is supposed to ensure against a catastrophic explosion. Residents are not convinced.

But in addition to the possibility of a plane crash, the poison gas poses other threats. When

American Way of Life

scientists found that intense sunlight or lightning could detonate the bombs, the Army hastily constructed "light sheds" around the containers.

Tornados can also set the bombs off. In fact, a few years ago a tornado touched down in the arsenal and "rearranged" some of the containers, according to an Army official.

Barring a complete catastrophe, the existence of the gas still creates serious health problems. A doctor at the arsenal has admitted that he has treated some 2,000 cases of nerve-gas poisoning over the last 20 years.

Despite the proven danger and widespread protests, the Army now says it plans to take at least three more years to "detoxify" the gas, and that an undisclosed amount will remain at the arsenal "permanently."

—JOEL HOUTMAN



'I thought that information was top secret, Colonel!'

Prisoners find The Militant indispensable

In the last "Militant Gets Around" column, we talked about the law suit by 82 federal prisoners to end arbitrary censorship. This suit highlights prisoners' growing determination to take action in defense of their rights.

As discontent with prison conditions has led many prisoners to question the capitalist system in its entirety, prison authorities have stepped up their attempts to stifle this process. These efforts are often openly aided by the federal government. For example, the U.S. House Internal Security Committee has held hearings to investigate claims that revolutionaries are organizing rebellions in U.S. prisons. Representative Richard Ichord, who heads the committee, has stated that he believes the "avalanche" of revolutionary literature admitted into prisons in recent years should be curbed.

Conditions in U.S. prisons are atrocious even for "model" prisoners, but for those who protest, the hardships increase. Militant prisoners are frequently transferred to different institutions to destroy any influence they may have on other prisoners. This often works in reverse, however, since they take their ideas with them. *The Militant* has been introduced to scores of prisons by subscribers who are subject to these punitive transfers.

The fact that prisoners continue to request *The Militant* and other publications in the face of ha-

Militant Gets Around

rassment is testimony to their interest in learning about revolutionary politics. Because they receive only pennies in return for their labor, their difficulties in gaining access to radical literature is compounded.

The Militant receives hundreds of requests for prisoner subscriptions, such as the following from a prisoner in New York: "I have been reading *The Militant* for about two months. I used to get it from a brother who used to lock in my cellblock. This brother was released about two weeks ago and since then I have not been able to find any other brother I know who receives *The Militant*. I find it almost impossible to get along without your paper and would like to know if you could add me to your list of subscribers."

In June *The Militant* sent a fund appeal to its readers and supporters to enable us to continue sending papers to prisoners who request them. The response was gratifying. From Minneapolis a subscriber sent \$10 and said: "Please continue this service to aid in the politicizing of this oppressed segment of our society. Prisoners are becoming one of the most politically aware groups in society thanks to efforts such as yours."

And with a contribution from Seattle: "I'm sure that the prisoners would appreciate knowing that people are struggling to improve conditions on the inside and correct the conditions that got them there in the first place."

As the letter from the New York prisoner indicated, one *Militant* subscription finds many regular readers behind the prison walls. If you can help cover the costs of these subscriptions, please send in a contribution or make a monthly pledge.

—NANCY COLE

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...UFT

Continued from page 8

supported by George Altomare, vice-president for high schools.

Although Shanker spoke against the resolution, he was unable to swing the delegates to his position. Shanker argued that the question of ROTC courses in the schools was not a union issue but a political one that would divide the membership. This was the same argument he has used to keep the UFT from taking a stand against the war in Vietnam.

The delegates replied by pointing out that ROTC was a union issue since the military has been used to attack unions. Others argued that it was definitely important to teachers because the institution of military training in the schools would change the content of the curriculum.

...France

Continued from page 7

and cinema, and of course from the political arena.

Concerning the period after vacations—that is, the more long-term projects—that is obvious that the actions taken by the committee will depend on the situation at that time. But we have already planned to hold a whole series of meetings, assemblies, and public actions.

Q: What will be the general line of the legal defense of Krivine and Rousset?

A: Krivine has been charged in connection with the events of June 21 and the days following, and in connection with the general activities of the Communist League. Now Krivine, of course, has never disavowed any of these actions or the politics involved, but the most important thing is that the day the events took place (June 21) he was at an antifascist meeting in Nice, a fact that can be verified to anyone's satisfaction.

Thus—and this is the most important point in the defense—he has been charged simply because he is the political leader of an organization. This is true despite the fact that the government claims it is not a political trial, but a case that rests on material facts that they can enumerate as a, b, c, d. But they cannot impute these things directly to Krivine because he was not there. Thus they use the infamous "antiwrecker" law, a law that makes a sort of political hostage out of a leader of a political organization.

So it is quite evident that the line of Krivine's defense must be to state that this trial is purely and simply a political trial camouflaged as an ordinary criminal trial based on common law.

As for Pierre Rousset, he is a well-known public figure. He coordinated the international relations of the Communist League, in particular the League's activities in behalf of the Indochina solidarity campaign.

They are trying to hold him responsible for a certain number of material facts [weapons the police found in the Communist League's offices]—the basis for which, moreover, is certainly open to discussion—that have nothing whatsoever to do with his work but are simply based on the fact that he was present at the Communist League headquarters. Here again they have applied in an absolutely scandalous and arbitrary manner a law that takes "hostages."

Q: What would you suggest could be done in other countries by those who support the campaign in defense of Krivine and Rousset and for the repeal of the ban on the Communist League?

A: It is very likely that Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin's retreat—because there has been a retreat on his part—is due in large part to the sharp reaction produced by the ban on the Communist League and the arrest of Krivine and Rousset. You are aware of the reaction that has taken place in France. It is also certain that all the international protests

—protests that have taken quite diverse forms—have played a very big role.

All forms of solidarity actions can be effective, whether it is petitions turned in to the embassy; a campaign to put up wall posters; protests of prominent figures; intervention by jurists to make it clear that the "antiwrecker" law is an offense to democratic traditions; a massive campaign of workers following the leadership of the trade-unions in France—a campaign that would say they are in solidarity with whatever actions the trade unions take to defend French political organizations, to demand the freedom of those who are jailed, and an end to the ban.

I think that all these measures, combined with an increased number of newspaper and magazine articles on the situation, can be very effective.

...UFW

Continued from page 28

They included clergymen and nuns, Black and Chicano UFW supporters, and several rank and file Teamsters. Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees also walked the picket line.

Many of the workers at the market belong to the Teamsters union. A number of them, especially younger workers, were interested in the demonstration and, after hearing an explanation of the issues, said they felt the UFW "had a point."

Others, mostly older workers and employers, were hostile and provocative, openly eating scab grapes and throwing them at the demonstrators. Some wore buttons saying, "I Buy Only Teamster Packed Lettuce," or "Eat Lettuce—Lettuce Will Keep Our Jobs."

I talked to Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers Union, at the demonstration. She said, "The UFW here has just begun a boycott of the area's largest grocery

chain, the A&P. We ask all supporters of the union *not to shop there at all*. This will help force the owners to bargain with the union. They are presently carrying scab grapes and lettuce and have refused to cooperate with the union."

CLEVELAND, July 21 — One hundred twenty chanting demonstrators picketed the largest Fisher-Fazio grocery store here today to demand that the chain, which has 35 percent of the market here, end sales of scab lettuce and grapes. The action was called by the United Farm Workers Union (UFW).

At a brief rally, demonstrators heard from Reverend Herbec from the Interfaith Committee for the Farmworkers; Otis Turner, organizer for the UFW; Barbara Janis, educational director of the Ohio-Kentucky region of the ILGWU (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union); Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland; and Sally Chancey from Women Speak Out.

...AFT

Continued from page 11

the promising prospects for uniting all teachers and will surely delay the building of a powerful union of teachers. But it cannot stop the surge for teacher unity.

If Shanker succeeds in grabbing control of the AFT at this convention—a possibility in view of Selden's inept leadership—he will only succeed in fragmenting the existing organization and in driving away sections of the present membership.

Shankerism is a formidable roadblock to teacher unity and to a strong teachers union. All independent AFT delegates to this convention have an opportunity to unite against everything he stands for. They should use this opportunity to signal the NEA that the vast majority of AFT teachers favor unity and will not accept a Shanker dictatorship.

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Calendar

ATLANTA

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH MOVEMENT. Speaker: Sarah Ryan, Young Socialist Alliance activist, recently concluded tour of campuses in Southeast. Also, Cuban film "Memories of Underdevelopment," directed by Tomas Gutierrez Alea. Fri., Aug. 3, 8:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

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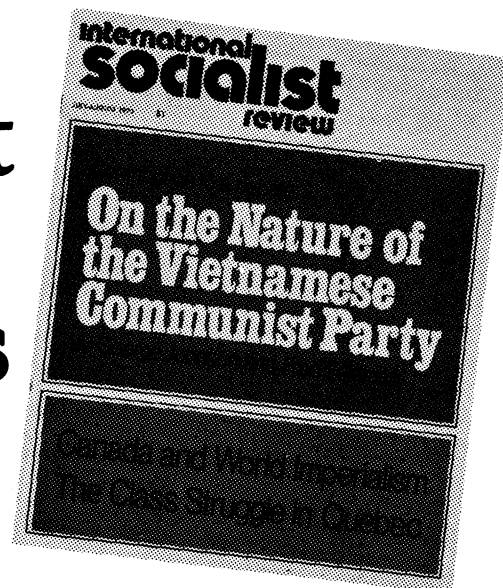
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THE MILITANT

Unionists support grape strike, boycott

Chavez: mass jailings will not stop the UFW



Chie Nishio/Nancy Palmer Photo Agency

Demonstrators at New York City produce market demand, "Boycott scab grapes, boycott scab lettuce." More than 400 United Farm Workers Union supporters turned out for 5 a.m. picketing.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

DELANO, Calif., July 24 — Hundreds of trade unionists traveled here July 21 in an impressive show of support for striking farm workers. Their declaration of support for the beleaguered United Farm Workers Union came at an opportune time, as a wave of mass arrests here in the lower San Joaquin Valley has sent thousands of strikers to jail.

Addressing well over 1,000 strikers and supporters, United Farm Workers Union Director César Chávez vowed to continue to fight the unconstitutional court injunctions limiting picketing at the struck farms. Chávez charged that the court system in this farming area is controlled by the growers and that the restrictive injunctions were issued at their request.

As he spoke, Chávez said, 1,200 farm workers still were in jail—400 in Visalia, 600 in Fresno, and 200 in Mendoza. Five hundred arrested in the Arvin-Lamont area, where the grape strike is now centered, had just been released from Kern County Jail.

Farm workers have been defying the court orders, expecting to have them overturned in higher courts. The

injunctions in the San Joaquin Valley have been much more restrictive than those handed down in the strike just ended in the Coachella Valley. The recent court orders make mass picketing impossible and severely restrict the use of bullhorns.

Chávez said that, in addition to the grape strike in Arvin-Lamont, the union has its hands full with strikes in a dozen other areas of California, three counties in Arizona, and in the San Luis Valley of Colorado. Most of these involve workers who are striking tree fruit and cantalope growers.

The grape growers in the Delano area are expected to allow their UFW contracts to expire on July 29 and to sign sweetheart pacts with the Teamster bureaucrats. Delano is the largest grape growing area in California.

Prices for Arvin-Lamont grapes are already dropping, said Chávez. "The bottom of the market is falling out." He credited this mainly to the nationwide boycott of table grapes.

He also said that "we now have more support than we have had at any stage of the movement since the beginning." This claim seems to be

borne out by the size and representative character of the trade-union delegation listening to his remarks.

A caravan of several hundred was organized by the San Francisco Bay Area trade unionists, including Art Carter, chairman of the Contra Costa County Central Labor Council, who addressed the rally. Also involved in organizing the caravan was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

A caravan from Los Angeles was sponsored by the Mexican American Labor Council and the L.A. County Federation of Labor.

Approximately 75 Teamsters from locals all over the state were also present to support the UFW.

More than a dozen teachers union locals were represented. Support also came from locals of the United Auto Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Store Employees Union, and many others. Thousands of dollars in cash donations as well as food were turned over to the UFW.

Jim Herman from the ILWU

stressed the importance of the entire trade-union movement uniting behind the farm workers. Speaking for the assembled unionists, he said, "No one can visit harm on [the Farm Workers] unless they are willing to choose a brawl with all of us."

Also present were student body presidents of several University of California campuses and Tim Higgins, president of the National Student Association. They vowed to use their offices to do everything possible to aid the farm workers' struggle.

By RACHEL TOWNE

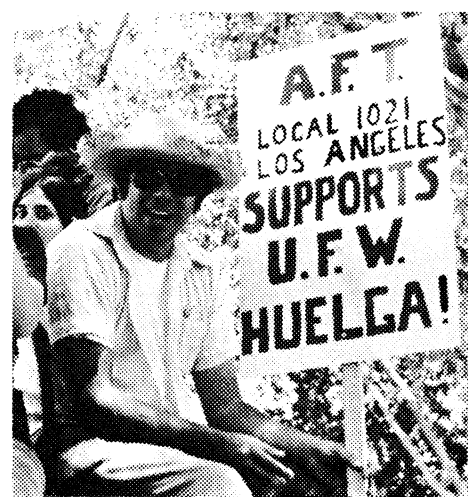
NEW YORK, July 23 — More than 400 supporters of the United Farm Workers Union demonstrated this morning at the Hunts Point Terminal Market in the Bronx to protest the buying of scab grapes and lettuce by grocery wholesalers. The huge produce market is the central distribution point in this part of the country where the big grocery chains buy their fruits and vegetables.

Beginning at 5 a.m., the demonstrators picketed six different distributors and succeeded in getting several wholesalers to stop selling scab produce, for the day at least.

Toward the end of the buying period, at 8 a.m., all the picket lines came together in front of Singer's, one of the largest distributors, for a united show of support for the boycott. The demonstrators waved red and black flags with the UFW Aztec eagle and chanted, "Viva la huelga," "Boycott grapes," and "Boycott lettuce."

The demonstrators, mostly young people, came from all over the city.

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Militant/Miguel Pendas

Delano, Calif., labor rally in support of striking farm workers.

Issues facing teachers union

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